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THE ECCLESIASTICAL SONNETS
OF
WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

A CRITICAL EDITION

BY

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A Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of Cornell University
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy



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TO
PROFESSOR LANE COOPER
IN GRATITUDE FOR HIS HELP

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PREFACE

A century has gone by since the publication of the *Ecclesiastical Sketches*; but the problems of social life in 1922 are not unlike those on which Wordsworth meditated in 1822. With us, also, recovery from war, rash industrial and political adventure, hunger for novelty or variety in the management of schools and churches, have confused the national mind, and we still need this poet's interpretation of the spiritual history of his country. Nor may we without a careful review assert that we are a hundred years wiser. Therefore the time and the circumstances appear fitting for a critical edition of the series finally known as *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*.

Professor Lane Cooper of Cornell University suggested that I prepare this edition, and has throughout the undertaking directed my research. I am deeply indebted to him for scholarly counsel, and for aid as well in the humbler concerns of my task. I wish also to acknowledge the friendly and expert guidance of Professor Benton S. Monroe and Professor George P. Bristol in other, but allied, subjects; and to the members of the Committee charged with the *Cornell Studies in English* I here express my gratitude for their courtesy and support in publishing a centennial edition of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*.

For the permission to photograph and to print manuscripts I am obliged to the late Mrs. Henry A. St. John, and to her daughter, Mrs. David Kennedy Fraser; with great kindness they allowed me the use of their Wordsworth collection, and made my labors in it the easier by their cordial interest. Miss Georgina Melville, whose preliminary investigation of this series had not been completed, generously placed in my hands the results of her study. My obligation to previous editors and students of Wordsworth is elsewhere indicated in detail.

The text is that of the *Poetical Works* of 1850. I have followed Hutchinson (*Poetical Works*, Oxford edition) in the use of -ed for 'd, and in these spellings: *sea-mew*, *recompense*, *mead*, *control*, *aery*, *chestnut*, *Chicheley*, *mother-spray*, *recall*, and *recalls*, *Russell's*, *couldst*, and *His* and *Him* in reference to Christ; and I have consistently printed *through* and *though* and *Christian* instead of *thro'* and *tho'* and *christian*. Believing that Wordsworth's comma often denotes emphasis or modulation, I have retained it in several instances where Hutchinson has discarded it; but I have adopted Hutchinson's punctuation in *Eccl. Son.* 3.29.3 and 3.41.3; and for 3.9.5-8 I have adopted the punctuation of the text of 1846. I have used single instead of double quotes throughout the text.

References to Wordsworth's other poems are made by means of the catch-titles used in Professor Cooper's *Concordance to the Poems of William Wordsworth*.

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INTRODUCTION

GENERAL DISCUSSION

I

The *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, written when Wordsworth was fifty-one years old, should reveal him as a profound thinker and a powerful artist. During his career he had with more and more success labored for the perfect union of love and reason, those mutual factors in both life and art. *Laodamia* notably achieves this union in art; and the words of Protesilaus to Laodamia indicate the cost of the union in life as well: transports shall be moderated, mourning shall be meek; lofty thought embodied in act has wrought deliverance; reason and self-government are to control rebellious passion, and thus affections will be raised and solemnized.¹ But these words are the very message of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, and in this very temper Wordsworth receives upon his affections the burden of institutional reason and traditional government. Has he profited by his own counsel? Is his art delivered by his lofty thought? Although in the third sonnet of the series he writes of Druid and Christianity, he might ask the question about himself, too:

Haughty the Bard: can these meek doctrines blight
His transports? wither his heroic strains?

Some there are, however, who feel that Wordsworth's history of the Church of England, his poetical record of a nation's love and reason, of its lofty thought embodied in act, is not a successful or characteristic poem. To many he remains chiefly the bard of external nature and of the sensations, moods, and feelings celebrated in the poem on the Wye. Even trained readers have marked those passages of his life

¹ *Laod.* 77, 137-8, 140, 73-4, 144.

and art which indicate that he is an ecstatic poet, an oracle rather than a builder. The first half of his life has been the more thoroughly studied—by himself in *The Prelude*; by his sister in her *Journals*; by Coleridge in his critical notes; and in the recent interpretation of Professors Legouis and Harper, to both of whom his earlier poetry is more congenial. And hence Harper's conclusion that Wordsworth's life was 'broken in the middle,'¹ and Minto's belief that 'after 1807 there is a marked falling off in the quality, though not in the quantity, of Wordsworth's poetic work,'² may arise somewhat from the general lack of scholarly regard for the later poetry, and somewhat from personal distaste. In the minds of these critics meek doctrines have indeed blighted the transports of the bard, and withered his heroic strains.

If the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* are to take their rightful place in a survey of Wordsworth's art, his career must be thought of as homogeneous; and this conception would be Wordsworth's own. In the year 1815 he was anxious that the arrangement of his poems should 'correspond with the course of human life,' and should exhibit 'the three requisites of a legitimate whole, a beginning, a middle, and an end.'³ But much earlier he had been concerned for 'the pleasure which the mind derives from the perception of similitude in dissimilitude,' and he believed that upon this perception 'depend our taste and our moral feelings.'⁴ 'Homogeneous' is not a novel epithet for Wordsworth. It gave Coleridge 'great pleasure, as most accurately and happily describing him';⁵ Dowden approves, and Harper quotes, the opinion of Coleridge;⁶ and

¹ William Wordsworth, 1916, 1.6.

² *Enc. Brit.*, eleventh ed., 28.830.

³ Preface to the edition of 1815, *Poetical Works*, Oxford ed., 1909, pp. 954-5.

⁴ Preface to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads, Prose Works*, ed. by Knight, 1896, 1.68.

⁵ *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. by E. H. Coleridge, 1895, 1.373. The letter quoted was written July 13, 1802.

⁶ Dowden's *Memoir, P. W.*, Aldine ed., 1892-3, 1.xxii; and Harper's *William Wordsworth* 2.44.

Christopher Wordsworth referred to the 'continuous stream of identity'¹ which flowed from the poet's earliest to his latest poems. Of the probable deviations in such a stream Wordsworth himself had given warning;² but he was sure that the stream advanced. In the *Character of the Happy Warrior* the combatant is one

Who, not content that former worth stand fast,
Looks forward, persevering to the last.

So, too, a poet would direct the orderly advance of his books:

Go, single—yet aspiring to be joined
With thy Forerunners that through many a year
Have faithfully prepared each other's way.³

Wordsworth was not unconscious of the charges brought against him of reaction, political and literary;⁴ and as well in literature as in politics did he face the accusation and answer it, asserting his fidelity to principle, and scorning the implication that with years and experience he had become less wise. His respect for the aged 'Bards of mightier grasp' grew as normally as his respect for constitutions and liturgies. He hailed ever more devotedly Ossian, 'the Son of Fingal'; Homer, 'blind Maeonides of ampler mind'; and 'Milton, to the fountain-head of glory by Urania led.'⁵ He remarked in a letter to Talfourd that the great works of Chaucer, Milton, Dryden, and Cowper were composed 'when they were far advanced in life.'⁶

Since Wordsworth himself has opened the way for a comparison between the years of the artist and the nature of the work of art, additional evidence may be offered. Bede was an old man when he wrote the *Ecclesiastical History*; Alfred

¹ *Memoirs of William Wordsworth*, ed. by Reed, 1851, 1.4-5.

² *Reply to the Letter of Mathetes*, *Prose Works* 1.90.

³ *In desultory* 17-19, *Prelude to the Poems Chiefly of Early and Late Years*.

⁴ *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, ed. by Knight, 1907, 2.162.

⁵ *Ossian* 53, 79-82.

⁶ *Letters* 3.115.

translated Bede and Gregory late in his career; and the *Republic* and the *Divina Commedia*, no less than the epics of Chaucer and Milton, were tasks 'hallowed by time.' More and Spenser were early productive, but Bacon's labors continued with unabated success, and Shakespeare's *Tempest* reflects the wisdom of age, not of youth. St. Augustine, the prototype for the modern world of the poet who is a builder, wrote his *De Civitate Dei* with three score of his years behind him; and according to Bryce 'it is hardly too much to say that the Holy Empire was built upon the foundation of the *De Civitate Dei*.'¹ Indeed, these works of these men are all profound studies of the spiritual history and destiny of mankind. They are contemplative and mature; they betoken judgment and long experience in the artists who produced them.

As we have noted, Wordsworth was fifty-one when he wrote the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. This fact of itself does not prove the excellence of his poem, but it indicates that his development was typical: the natural phenomena of his country and the humble activities of his fellow-men made way in his mind for a loftier theme, the spiritual history of a people. So Virgil had renounced *Eclogues* and *Georgics* for his *Æneid*. Wordsworth like Dante, Spenser, and Milton, even like Augustine, Alfred, and Bede, accepted the final challenge of life and art.

II

How would Wordsworth conceive the spiritual history of a people? Here, above all, he would be like himself—homogeneous. In spite of his desire to be a recluse, the advance in his art, as Minto remarks, had always come to him 'not in his seclusion, but when he was in contact with his fellow-men.'² 'Stand no more aloof!' is the exhortation common to *Lyrical Ballads*, the *Poems* of 1807, the *Convention of Cintra*, and the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, these four works being in a

¹ *The Holy Roman Empire*, 1904, p. 94, note.

² *Wordsworth's Great Failure*, *Nineteenth Century* for September, 1889, p. 449.

sense a return to the objective world from the preoccupation of *Guilt and Sorrow* and *The Borderers*; from *The Prelude*, whose theme is self;— from *The White Doe*, whose 'objects . . . derive their influence, not from properties inherent in them, not from what they are actually in themselves, but from such as are bestowed upon them by the minds of those who are conversant with or affected by those objects';¹ and, finally, from the unsubstantial theme of *The Recluse*.

In 1793, after a crisis evident in *Guilt and Sorrow* and *The Borderers*, Wordsworth was as one betrayed by nature and by judgment. Whether this betrayal had wrought havoc with his personal affections or his social ideals is here of little concern. The remedy lay in a rededication:

Long have I loved what I behold,
The night that calms, the day that cheers;
The common growth of mother-earth
Suffices me—her tears, her mirth,
Her humblest mirth and tears.²

Out of this humility came the Prologue to *Peter Bell*, *Peter Bell* itself, and the personages in *Lyrical Ballads*. The poet recovered the simple, traditional utterance of English verse;³ he abandoned the boat twin-sister of the crescent moon, the realm of faery, the might of magic lore, the dragon's wing.⁴

Like another Antæus, from his contact with mother-earth Wordsworth drew both courage and refreshment, as is proved by his keen analyses in the Preface of 1800, his exact delineation in the *Poems on the Naming of Places*, and those 'present gifts of humbler industry,'⁵ the first two books of *The Prelude*. In the words of his letter to Coleridge, 1809, he now sought objects 'interesting to the mind, not by its personal feelings or a strong appeal to the instincts or natural affections, but to be interesting to a meditative or imaginative mind, either

¹ *Letters* 2.68.

² *P. B.* 131-5.

³ Cf. Barstow, *Wordsworth's Theory of Poetic Diction*, 1917.

⁴ *P. B.* 80, 101, 110, 136.

⁵ *Prelude* 1.133-4.

from the moral importance of the pictures, or from the employment they give to the understanding affected through the imagination, and to the higher faculties.'¹ Now, too, he had found

A hoary pathway traced between the trees,
And winding on with such an easy line
Along a natural opening, that I stood
Much wondering how I could have sought in vain
For what was now so obvious.²

Although this pathway led through a profound study of self, *The Prelude*, yet thence, moderated and composed, with an enthusiasm for humanity transcending his enthusiasm for external nature and his enthusiasm for his own lofty hopes, Wordsworth made his second definite return: henceforth he would exercise his skill even more devotedly,

Not in Utopia,—subterranean fields,—
Or some secreted island, Heaven knows where!
But in the very world, which is the world
Of all of us,—the place where, in the end,
We find our happiness, or not at all!³

The *Ode to Duty* and the *Character of the Happy Warrior* show the result of this adjustment. Moreover, Wordsworth had partaken of 'the very world' in certain intimate and memorable ways. After the death of John Wordsworth he could write:

A deep distress hath humanized my Soul.⁴

From his bereavement grew the sense of a holier joy, which, with the renewed yearning for seclusion, is expressed in *The White Doe*, the fairest image of one side of Wordsworth's genius, and in temper akin to the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. Yet the solution of *The White Doe*, as its motto implies, is meek

¹ *Letters* 3.473.

² *When*, to 47-52.

³ *Prelude* 11.139-43.

⁴ *Peele Castle* 36.

and heroic, but not rational; and the poem itself appears as 'faintly, faintly tied to earth' as was its heroine, standing like her 'apart from human cares.'¹ Of this Wordsworth must have been aware, for again he turned his eye upon life's daily prospect; following his method in *The Happy Warrior* and in the existent sonnets, he directed his thought to 'social and civic duties, chiefly interesting to the imagination through the understanding';² and he restated the problems of will, duty, morality, justice, and virtue. His open-minded study of the writings of Bacon, Thomas Browne, and Weever, of geographies and books of travel, of the sources of contemporary history, gave him new power over the essay, the scientific treatise, and the political pamphlet. Nor was he a superficial student of natural and moral science; witness the *Description of the Scenery of the Lakes* and the *Convention of Cintra*.

Meanwhile Wordsworth's explicit purpose for *The Recluse* had undergone a change. In 1798, as we learn from a letter to James Tobin, this poem was to give pictures of 'Nature, Man, and Society';³ in 1814, when a part was published as *The Excursion*, the whole was in conception still a poem of 'views,' but the order of the theme had been changed to 'Man, Nature, and Society,' and the author spoke through intervenient dramatic characters.

Minto has keenly analyzed *The Recluse*, Wordsworth's 'great failure,'⁴ but lets fall no hint of a possible alternative for such a philosophical poem. To him the actual value even of *The Excursion* is found in the passages where Wordsworth is speaker, the record of the poet's 'own moods,' 'the harvest of his own long observation and cheerful fancy, the fortitude of his own resolute will.' But this resort to what was merely 'his own' was the same blind alley into which Wordsworth had gone on the banks of the Wye, the same tangle of phantom characters as in *The Borderers*, projections of the poet's self.

¹ *White Doe* 1864-5, 1859.

² *Letters* 3.473-4.

³ *Letters* 1.115.

⁴ *Op. cit.* in the *Nineteenth Century*, pp. 435-51.

Was it not to turn the light dawning from the east into a 'steady morning'¹ that *The Prelude* was written? And is *The Excursion* not powerful because in it the poet as a dramatist has grappled with the minds of men, not the mind of Wordsworth alone?

Four months after *The Excursion* was published Wordsworth wrote to R. P. Gillies: 'Our inability to catch a phantom of no value may prevent us from attempting to seize a precious substance within our reach.'² Phantom or substance, *The Recluse* was never completed. Presumably its author understood his own great failure as well as Minto, and at last came to realize that 'philosophy means love of wisdom—true wisdom is to let insoluble problems alone.'³ Be that as it may, Wordsworth's explicit comment on great failures is adequate to his own circumstances: memory has too 'fondly hung on 'new-planned cities and unfinished towers'; self is to be annulled,

her bondage prove
The fetters of a dream opposed to love.⁴

So Wordsworth understood and partook of the experience of Chaucer, Virgil, Hooker, the giants of Malham Cove, and the cathedral-builders of Cologne: his mortal hopes, too, were defeated, and he did not miss

the sole true glory
That can belong to human story!
At which they only shall arrive
Who through the abyss of weakness dive.
The very humblest are too proud of heart. . . .
Say not that we have vanquished—but that we survive.⁵

There is no evidence that Wordsworth formally abandoned *The Recluse*; on the contrary, as late as 1824 he still hesitated

¹ *Prelude* 1.127.

² *Letters* 2.39.

³ *Op. cit.* in the *Nineteenth Century*, p. 443.

⁴ *Laod.* 132, 149-50.

⁵ *Ode: Thanks.* 83-7, 91. Cf. also *Malham*, and the *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by Knight, 1897, 2.178-9.

before 'the task so weighty.'¹ Moreover, there is no reason to think that the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* constitute Part 3 of the philosophical poem about 'Man, Nature, and Society.' Their theme is nature, man, and God, the 'introduction, progress, and operation of the Church in England.' Here the poet would trace man's relation to God in its actual lineaments; once more he had returned to 'mother-earth, her humblest mirth and tears,' and in so doing he was, may it be repeated, like himself, 'homogeneous.'

III

The *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* take for granted a polity, both of State and of Church, based upon Wordsworth's slowly-formed conviction that justice was not an obligation of one man or of one epoch, but the wise, brave, temperate expression of a society rooted in the past and hopeful for the future. To such a society the 'faith that elevates the just'² would be added like 'a breeze which springs up . . . to assist the strenuous oarsman.'³ From the diatribes of 1793, when he regarded Burke's fidelity to compact as 'a refinement in cruelty' which would 'yoke the living to the dead,'⁴ to his eulogy of Burke in *The Prelude*, Wordsworth had fixed his inward eye as relentlessly upon 'Institutes and Laws, hallowed by time,' and 'social ties endeared by Custom'⁵ as ever upon a primrose by a river's brim. What he saw was as imaginatively seen as his jocund company of daffodils:

'The Constitution of England, which seems about to be destroyed, offers to my mind the sublimest contemplation which the history of society and government have ever presented to it; and for this cause especially, that its principles have the character of preconceived ideas, archetypes of the

¹ *Letters* 2.237.

² *Primrose* 51.

³ *Convention of Cintra*, *Prose Works* 1.211.

⁴ *Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff*, *Prose Works* 1.25.

⁵ *Prelude* 7.526-8.

pure intellect, while they are, in fact, the results of a humble-minded experience.'¹

By the same discipline he learnt 'the art of bringing words rigorously to the test of thoughts; and these again to a comparison with things, their archetypes, contemplated first in themselves, and secondly in relation to each other.'² He acknowledged the duty not alone of weighing 'the moral worth and intellectual power of the age in which we live,' but of determining 'what we are, compared with our ancestors.'³ For, he believed, 'there is a spiritual community binding together the living and the dead: the good, the brave, and the wise of all ages. We would not be rejected from this community: and therefore do we hope.'⁴ And therefore did Wordsworth celebrate those 'golden opportunities when the dictates of justice may be unrelentingly enforced, and the beauty of the inner mind substantiated in the outward act.'⁵ Justice was his theme, and his voice was raised for mankind.⁶

This conception of justice, this idea of a spiritual State binding together the living and the dead, was for Wordsworth substantiated in the outward acts of ethical, poetical, and religious beauty as well. 'Usages of pristine mould' and 'ancient manners' seemed precious revelations of the 'far-off past.'⁷ He coveted 'some Theban fragment,' or 'tender-hearted scroll of pure Simonides.'⁸ And above all, perhaps, he valued the record left in stone and ritual of his country's ecclesiastical history. To churchly images, as the years went by, he had referred the most intimate associations of his life and work; he was, his nephew remarked, 'predisposed to

¹ *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 2.259.

² *Epitaphs* 2, *Prose Works* 2.164.

³ *Prose Works* 1.85.

⁴ *Prose Works* 1.272.

⁵ *Prose Works* 1.215.

⁶ *Prose Works* 1.213.

⁷ Dedication to *The River Duddon*, *The minstrels* 59, 55, 72.

⁸ *Departing summer* 52-4.

sympathize with a form of religion which appears to afford some exercise for the imaginative faculty.'¹

Mr. Gordon Wordsworth finds slender evidence for the poet's religious observance during boyhood;² but the cross, the distant spire, and the chapel-bell all take their place in the early poems.³ Even Peter Bell knew the spire of Sarum,⁴ profane rover though he was.

Not less frequently but much more appreciatively did Wordsworth and his sister in their travels look upon monastic ruin and cathedral spire. On their way to Calais in 1802 Dorothy saw St. Paul's as a significant part of the view her brother delineated in the sonnet *Composed upon Westminster Bridge*. In 1803 the pinnacles of Inverary recalled to her the spires of Yorkshire.⁵ Then, too, Wordsworth's plans for a winter garden at Coleorton included 'a pool of water that would reflect beautifully the rocks with their hanging plants, the evergreens upon the top, and, shooting deeper than all, the naked spire of the church.'⁶

The spire of Brompton Parish Church, 'under which,' Wordsworth reminded Wrangham, 'you and I were made happy men, by the gift from Providence of excellent wives,'⁷ perhaps shot deeper and pointed higher than any other in his experience; but the ecclesiastical symbol was not alien to his bleak and sorrowful days. When most anxious to repair his friendship with Coleridge, he wrote from Grasmere to Sir George Beaumont, April 8, 1808:

'You will deem it strange, but really some of the imagery of London has, since my return hither, been more present to my mind than that of this noble vale. I left Coleridge at seven o'clock on Sunday morning, and walked towards the city in a very thoughtful and melancholy state of mind. I

¹ *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 2.151.

² *The Boyhood of Wordsworth*, in *Cornhill Magazine*, N. S. 48 (1920). 419.

³ *Desc. Sk. Quarto* 70; *Guilt* 21; *Bord.* 1651.

⁴ *P. B.* 212.

⁵ *Journals* 2.25.

⁶ *Letters* 1.279.

⁷ *Letters* 1.429.

had passed through Temple Bar and by St. Dunstan's, noticing nothing, and entirely occupied with my own thoughts, when, looking up, I saw before me the avenue of Fleet Street, silent, empty, and pure white, with a sprinkling of new-fallen snow, not a cart or carriage to obstruct the view, no noise, only a few soundless and dusky foot-passengers here and there. You remember the elegant line of the curve of Ludgate Hill in which this avenue would terminate; and beyond, towering above it, was the huge and majestic form of St. Paul's, solemnized by a thin veil of falling snow. I cannot say how much I was affected at this unthought-of sight in such a place, and what a blessing I felt there is in habits of exalted imagination. My sorrow was controlled, and my uneasiness of mind—not quieted and relieved altogether—seemed at once to receive the gift of an anchor of security.' ¹

The reader in search of a stern association of image and idea will pass the chance comments of Dorothy on churching, church-going, and christening,² but will not fail to note a figure in the *Convention of Cintra*:

'If the gentle passions of pity, love, and gratitude be porches of the temple; if the sentiments of admiration and rivalry be pillars upon which the structure is sustained; if, lastly, hatred, and anger, and vengeance, be steps which, by a mystery of nature, lead to the House of Sanctity; then was it manifest to what power the edifice was consecrated; and that the voice within was of Holiness and Truth.' ³

And Wordsworth most effectively applies this figure in the Preface to *The Excursion*, 1814:

'The two works [*The Prelude* and *The Recluse*] have the same kind of relation to each other . . . as the antechapel has to the body of a Gothic church. Continuing this allusion, he [the author] may be permitted to add that his minor pieces, which have been long before the public, when they shall be properly arranged, will be found by the attentive reader to have such connection with the main work as may

¹ *Letters* 1.349.

² Harper, *William Wordsworth* 2.51; and *Letters* 1.298, 2.5.

³ *Prose Works* 1.205.

give them claim to be likened to the little cells, oratories, and sepulchral recesses ordinarily included in those edifices.'

Henceforth the poet easily and habitually referred to ecclesiastical architecture. Of the images gleaned from the tour on the Continent in 1820 many are of such origin; thus: 'the silent avenues of stateliest architecture' in the city that was 'one vast temple'; 'pinnacle and spire' and 'Convent-tower'; 'grey rocks . . . shaped like old monastic turrets'; the 'unfinished shafts' of the cathedral at Cologne; 'lurking cloistral arch'; the 'ancient Tower'; 'the firm unmoving cross'; 'the chapel far withdrawn'; the 'holy Structure'; 'shrine of the meek Virgin Mother'; 'holy enclosure' and 'sacred Pile'; 'sainted grove' and 'hallowed grot.' All these composed for one with eye and mind alike sensitive to their beauty

The venerable pageantry of Time.

Returning to the 'awful perspective' of King's College Chapel and the church to be erected by Sir George Beaumont, Wordsworth was, it may well seem to the student of his life and art, inevitably destined to write an ecclesiastical poem. Yet he

dreamt not of a perishable home
Who thus could build.¹

Outward acts, the reverent statesmanship in ritual and cathedral of the 'perfected spirits of the just,'² never obscured for him 'the eternal city,' the beauty of the inner mind, whose constitution, like the Constitution of other cities, must still be the result of a humble-minded experience. Then would come faith, to elevate the just. So in 1827 he put his own best interpretation upon the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*:

For what contend the wise?—for nothing less
Than that the Soul, freed from the bonds of Sense,
And to her God restored by evidence
Of things not seen, drawn forth from their recess,

¹ *Eccl. Son.* 3.45.1-2.

² *Eccl. Son.* 3.47.14.

Root there, and not in forms, her holiness;—
 For Faith, which to the Patriarchs did dispense
 Sure guidance, ere a ceremonial fence
 Was needful round men thirsting to transgress;—
 For Faith, more perfect still, with which the Lord
 Of all, himself a Spirit, in the youth
 Of Christian aspiration, deigned to fill
 The temples of their hearts who, with his word
 Informed, were resolute to do his will,
 — And worship him in spirit and in truth.¹

IV

Was Wordsworth the first to present 'in verse' 'certain points in the ecclesiastical history' of England, to use his own modest phrase? Henry Crabb Robinson says that Thelwell in 1799 believed himself about to be a famous epic poet, and 'thought the establishment of Christianity and the British Constitution very appropriate subjects for his poem.'² Wordsworth may have heard of Thelwell's project, directly or indirectly, but it is wiser to refer the theme of *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* to his own habit of choice. He was not one of those whom he reprobated in the Postscript, 1835:

'They who are the readiest to meddle with public affairs, whether in Church or State, fly to generalities, that they may be eased from the trouble of thinking about particulars; and thus is deputed to mechanical instrumentality the work which vital knowledge only can do well.'

Moreover, he had already (in 1814) celebrated the Church and State of England:

Hail to the crown by Freedom shaped—to gird
 An English Sovereign's brow! and to the throne
 Whereon he sits! Whose deep foundations lie
 In veneration and the people's love;
 Whose steps are equity, whose seat is law.
 —Hail to the State of England! And conjoin
 With this a salutation as devout,

¹ *Eccl. Son.* 2.30, added to the series in 1827.

² *Diary*, ed. by Sadler, 1869, 1.37.

³ *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 963.

Made to the spiritual fabric of her Church;
 Founded in truth; by blood of Martyrdom
 Cemented; by the hands of Wisdom reared
 In beauty of holiness, with ordered pomp,
 Decent and unproved. . . .
 And O, ye swelling hills and spacious plains!
 Besprent from shore to shore with steeple-towers,
 And spires whose 'silent finger points to heaven';
 Nor wanting, at wide intervals, the bulk
 Of ancient minster lifted above the cloud
 Of the dense air, which town or city breeds
 To intercept the sun's glad beams—may ne'er
 That true succession fail of English hearts,
 Who, with ancestral feeling, can perceive
 What in those holy structures ye possess
 Of ornamental interest, and the charm
 Of pious sentiment diffused afar,
 And human charity, and social love.¹

In 1798 Wordsworth reached a conviction never afterward abandoned by him, that the materials of poetry 'are to be found in every subject which can interest the human mind.'² Later he confirmed and explained this statement:

'Poetry is the first and last of all knowledge—it is as immortal as the heart of man. . . . If the time should ever come when what is now called science, . . . familiarized to men, shall be ready to put on, as it were, a form of flesh and blood, the poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration, and will welcome the being thus produced, as a dear and genuine inmate of the household of man.'³

Thus Dante had embodied and transfigured astronomy and theology; thus Shakespeare had turned to 'glorious purpose those materials which the prepossessions of the age compelled him to make use of.'⁴ In Wordsworth's conception, too, Clio, the Muse of History, must 'vindicate the majesty of truth.'⁵

¹ *Excursion* 6.1–12, 17–29.

² Advertisement to *Lyrical Ballads*, *Prose Works* 1.31.

³ Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 939.

⁴ Essay Supplementary to the Preface, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 946.

⁵ *Plea: Hist.* 8.

If truth be essential to poetry, infinity and unity are the aspects of truth necessary to sublime poetry. 'The infinitude of truth' is a recurrent phrase in the third essay on *Epitaphs*.¹ In the letter to Pasley, 1811, Wordsworth urges 'indefinite progress . . . in knowledge, in science, in civilization, in the increase of the numbers of the people, and in the augmentation of their virtue and happiness.'² And even more explicitly in his *Description of the Scenery of the English Lakes*, he asserts that 'sublimity will never be wanting where the sense of innumerable multitude is lost in and alternates with that of intense unity.'³

Poetry so conceived was in Wordsworth's opinion sublime poetry; and sublime poetry was religious poetry, as he reminded Landor in 1824:

'All religions owe their origin, or acceptation, to the wish of the human heart to supply in another state of existence the deficiencies of this, and to carry still nearer to perfection whatever we admire in our present condition; so that there must be many modes of expression, arising out of this coincidence, or rather identity of feeling, common to all mythologies. . . . This leads to a remark in your last, "that you are disgusted with all books that treat of religion." I am afraid it is a bad sign in me that I have little relish for any other. Even in poetry it is the imaginative only, viz., that which is conversant with, or turns upon infinity, that powerfully affects me. Perhaps I ought to explain: I mean to say that, unless in those passages where things are lost in each other, and limits vanish, and aspirations are raised, I read with something too much like indifference. But all great poets are in this view powerful religionists, and therefore among many literary pleasures lost, I have not yet to lament over that of verse as departed.'⁴

¹ *Prose Works* 2.176, 181.

² *Prose Works* 1.316.

³ *Prose Works* 2.80; and cf. Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary*, September 10, 1816:

'[Wordsworth] represented . . . much as, unknown to him, the German philosophers have done, that by the imagination the mere fact is exhibited as connected with that infinity without which there is no poetry.'

⁴ *Letters* 2.214-5.

'The grand store-houses of enthusiastic and meditative imagination' were for Wordsworth 'the prophetic and lyrical parts of the Holy Scriptures,' the works of Milton and Spenser;¹ even the sublimer passages of Homer or Æschylus.² He agreed with Henry Alford, however, on 'the distinction between religion in poetry and versified religion.' Writing to the latter in 1840, he defined his position:

'For my own part, I have been averse to frequent mention of the mysteries of Christian faith; not from a want of a due sense of their momentous nature, but the contrary. I felt it far too deeply to venture on handling the subject as familiarly as many scruple not to do. . . . Besides general reasons for diffidence in treating subjects of Holy Writ, I have some especial ones. I might err in points of faith, and I should not deem my mistakes less to be deprecated because they were expressed in metre. Even Milton, in my humble judgment, has erred, and grievously; and what poet could hope to atone for his apprehensions [? misapprehensions] in the way in which that mighty mind has done?'³

The Rev. R. P. Graves has left his memorandum of a talk wherein Wordsworth indicates 'the gradual steps by which [religion as an element in poetry] . . . must advance to a power comprehensive and universally admitted.' These steps, like the steps in Wordsworth's own career, are 'defined in their order by the constitution of the human mind; and [they] . . . must proceed with vastly more slowness in the case of the progress made by collective minds than . . . in an individual soul.'⁴ No clearer reason could be given for Wordsworth's renunciation of the great themes of Milton and of Dante. Not of man or 'one greater man'⁵ was he to sing; he dared not celebrate 'il Valor infinito'⁶ as did that brother who found himself in a forest—

¹ Preface to the edition of 1815, *P. IV.*, Oxford ed., p. 957.

² *Letters* 2.250-1.

³ *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 2.368-9.

⁴ *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 2.370.

⁵ *Paradise Lost* 1.1, 4.

⁶ Dante, *Paradiso* 33.81.

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita;¹

instead he would write a memorial of the progress of religion as an element of poetry, a progress made by collective minds and traceable in ecclesiastical polity and history, in liturgy and cathedrals.

Therefore his spiritual and practical concern was unity, threatened alike by the anthropomorphism of pagan and idolatrous thought,² and by latitudinarianism, which 'will ever successfully lay claim to a divided worship.'³ Political and ecclesiastical dissent were not only perilous for the statesman and priest, but perilous for the artist, to whom infinity and unity were both necessary if the work of art was to be sublime.

V

(a)

The history and description of the structure of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* are elsewhere given in detail. Here something must be said of its literary form in general. | Wordsworth did not himself relate the series to any traditional group; and the reader is left to surmise the author's purpose. Of the classes of narrative enumerated in the Preface of 1815⁴ the series must constitute either an *epopœia* or a historic poem. On the other hand, the sonnet there is called an *idyllium*.⁴

An undated letter to Southey contains Wordsworth's best definition of the epic poem:

'*Epic* poetry, of the highest class, requires in the first place an action eminently influential, an action with a grand or sublime train of consequences; it next requires the intervention and guidance of beings superior to man, what the critics, I believe, call *machinery*; and, lastly, I think with Dennis that no subject but a religious one can answer the demand of the soul in the highest class of this species of poetry.'⁵

¹ Dante, *Inferno* 1.1.

² Preface to the edition of 1815, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 957.

³ Postscript, 1835, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 965.

⁴ *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 954.

⁵ *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 2.62.

The first and third of these requirements are met by Wordsworth's ecclesiastical series; and the second, too, if we interpret the 'intervention and guidance' of a Superior Being in the simplest and most exalted sense.

• Moreover, one may say of the series of *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* what Wordsworth said of Balbi's epitaph by Chiabrera: it is a perfect whole; there is nothing arbitrary or mechanical; it is an organized body, of which the members are bound together by a common life, and are all justly proportioned.¹ Such perfection is not accidental. Throughout the decade previous to 1821 Wordsworth frequently described the ways and means of it, as for instance in the letter to Pasley:

'A state ought to be governed, . . . the labors of the statesman ought to advance, upon calculations and from impulses similar to those which give motion to the hand of a great artist when he is preparing a picture, or of a mighty poet when he is determining the proportions and march of a poem; — much is to be done by rule; the great outline is previously to be conceived in distinctness, but the consummation of the work must be trusted to resources that are not tangible, though known to exist.'²

And one may further say that the principles underlying the 'proportions' and 'march' of Wordsworth's epic, its 'great outline,' have, as he remarked of the Constitution of England, 'the character of preconceived ideas, archetypes of the pure intellect, while they are, in fact, the results of a humble-minded experience.'³

There were cogent artistic reasons for this—not alone 'October's workmanship to rival May';⁴ for from the outset of his career Wordsworth had put his faith in the 'best models of composition,'⁵ including external nature. By exercise in analysis and translation and paraphrase he had sternly

¹ *Prose Works* 2.183.

² *Prose Works* 1.318.

³ *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 2.259.

⁴ *Trosachs* 11.

⁵ Advertisement to *Lyrical Ballads*, 1798, *Prose Works* 1.32.

disciplined himself. In his own art and in the arts of painting and sculpture he was keenly aware of the cost of good work; and hence he could detect the spurious and the artificial, as with Macpherson's Ossian, or in the poetry of Scott. He could give reasons, too, for his judgments; his riper mind not only saw that an artist was deceived, but saw how he was deceived.¹ His ire at poems 'merely skin-deep as to thought and feeling, the juncture or suture of the composition not being a jot more cunning or more fitted for endurance than the first fastening together of fig-leaves in Paradise,'² and his enthusiasm over the exhibitions in the Jardin des Plantes³ are symptoms of an increasing attention to organic form.

Fortunately Wordsworth's taste was catholic: his models were the best from Greece, Rome, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, and the Eighteenth Century. His rapture over the Elgin marbles,⁴ his frequent debate with Wrangham and Lonsdale and Landor on the minutiae of Latin phrases, his repeated study of the *Æneid*, are evidence of his classical scholarship. Throughout his life he took a purely æsthetic delight in abbey and cathedral; and the final passages of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* display no little of the reverence of Dante in the *Paradiso*. Dante's 'fictions,' however, Wordsworth considered 'offensively grotesque and fantastic,'⁵ and thus a superficial disparity prevented the English poet from that closer study of the Italian for which his temper and intelligence would seem to have fitted him.

To the bold and lofty conceptions of Michelangelo, and to Leonardo's 'intense and laborious study of scientific and mathematical details,'⁶ he rendered due homage; Chaucer's

¹ *Reply to the Letter of Mathetes*, *Prose Works* 1.102.

² *Letters* 2.80-1.

³ *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 2.106.

⁴ *Letters* 2.63; and cf. the *Diary* of Henry Crabb Robinson, November 20, 1820.

⁵ *Letters* 2.216.

⁶ Cf. his translations of the sonnets of Michael Angelo, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., pp. 256-7; cf. also Robinson's *Diary* 1.360.

'lucid shafts of reason,'¹ and Shakespeare's judgment in the selection and ordering of his materials,² alike won his regard; he acknowledged Spenser's grasp of the 'highest moral truths';³ Milton and Walton had long been the intimate companions of his thought; with Burke and Cowper, unlike as they were, he had much in common.

(b)

But no mention of models of composition would be complete without reference to the sonneteers from whom Wordsworth learned how to shape the fourteen-line stanza which he adopted for his narrative poem. Never before to the same extent had sonnets been used to carry a theme which needed march as well as proportions. Cycles of sonnets there were; groups with their parts related in mood, in subject; groups celebrating deeds which themselves formed a sequence; mild allegories of the rise and fall of passion or the growth and maturity and decay of life: but a well-articulated scheme of events originally conceived as organic parts of a whole had not before Wordsworth's experiment been attempted by an English poet in the sonnet-form.⁴

Blank verse or the Spenserian stanza would have been a dignified medium for an ecclesiastical poem. Wordsworth's reasons for disregarding them may be inferred from his letters to Southey, Lord Lonsdale, and Catherine Goodwin: he would avoid diffuseness, and he would make use of 'every possible help and attraction of sound.'⁵ In his opinion Milton's sonnets had 'an energetic and varied flow of sound crowding into narrow room more of the combined effect of rhyme and blank verse than can be done by any other kind of verse.'⁶ Such, then, was to be the effect of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*.

¹ *Eccl. Son.* 2.31.13.

² Essay Supplementary to the Preface, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 947.

³ Preface to the edition of 1815, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 957.

⁴ Cf. chap. 4 of the Introduction in Dr. John S. Smart's recent edition of *The Sonnets of Milton*, 1921.

⁵ *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 2.70. Cf. also *ibid.* 2.60, 62.

⁶ *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 1.286, note.

Hutchinson has gathered the memorable facts concerning Wordsworth and the sonnet into an Appendix to his edition (vol. 1) of the *Poems in Two Volumes*. His remarks may here be supplemented by a short statement of the formal problem that Wordsworth faced in a series of 132 sonnets whereof the transitions must be distinct, but not abrupt. The sestet, obviously, is the crucial concern.

Wordsworth was familiar with the sonnets of Michelangelo, of Shakespeare, and of Milton.¹ He was familiar, too, with the technical habit of Petrarch, Tasso, Camoens, Dante, and the Elizabethans. Of later sonneteers, Donne, Russell, Sir Egerton Brydges, Miss Williams, the Coleridges, father and son, and Southey had been the objects of his incisive comment. The way was open, then, for him to make a judicial selection from a wide range of rhyme-schemes.

He might use Shakespeare's 'heavy'² final couplet, the distichs of Petrarch and Dante, and the tercets of Michelangelo, in a variety of forms to suit the movement of his narrative, or the extent and relationships of his thought. He was no doubt prepared for this free adaptation by his management of rhyme in *The White Doe*. At once strict and unobtrusive, the harmony of this poem is its greatest formal beauty.

Wisely enough, Wordsworth perceived the superiority of the sonnet over any stanza reminiscent of ballad or canzone. The sonnet is an artistic invention, and as such is the proper vehicle for ecclesiastical history. Originally a love poem, it would be fitted to carry a strain of sublimated love, patriotic or religious, as Milton had discovered, and as Wordsworth through Milton had rediscovered, for, by the latter, 'style of harmony'³ had been elevated from the serenade to the 'soul-animating' strain.⁴

¹ *Letters* 1.173; *Essay Supplementary*, 1815, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 947.

² *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 2.258.

³ *Letters* 2.180.

⁴ *Misc. Son.* 2.1.14.

In a letter to Dyce, Wordsworth sets forth his ideas about the construction of the individual sonnet:

'It should seem that the sonnet, like every other legitimate composition, ought to have a beginning, a middle, and an end; in other words, to consist of three parts, like the three parts of a syllogism, if such an illustration may be used. But the frame of metre adopted by the Italians does not accord with this view; and, as adhered to by them, it seems to be, if not arbitrary, best fitted to a division of the sense into two parts, of eight and six lines each. Milton, however, has not submitted to this; in the better half of his sonnets the sense does not close with the rhyme at the eighth line, but overflows into the second portion of the metre. Now, it has struck me that this is not done merely to gratify the ear by variety and freedom of sound, but also to aid in giving that pervading sense of intense unity in which the excellence of the sonnet has always seemed to me mainly to consist. Instead of looking at this composition as a piece of architecture, making a whole out of three parts, I have been much in the habit of preferring the image of an orbicular body — a sphere, or a dewdrop. All this will appear to you a little fanciful; and I am well aware that a sonnet will often be found excellent, where the beginning, the middle, and the end are distinctly marked, and also where it is distinctly separated into *two* parts, to which, as I before observed, the strict Italian model, as they write it, is favorable.'¹

Valuable as was the conception of an orbicular body if Wordsworth were to use the sonnet as a stanza, it is fortunate that he did not relinquish the traits of divisibility. For both the march and proportions of his poem, the resultant medium was a happy one, rigorous and flexible alike.

By way of summary, one may say that the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* are related to models having dignity and beauty, and are loyally but not slavishly derived from them; furthermore, they are wrought with conscious skill by a poet at once docile and self-assured.

¹ *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 2.281-2. Cf. also Smart, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-38.

VI

His humility, his exalted aim, his theme, which was actual rather than fanciful, and his respect for the best traditions, made Wordsworth dependent upon his library. The ecclesiastical series is a substantial poem; it is not merely a poem on a substantial theme, but a poem whose very substance is the substance of Bede, Drayton, Daniel, Fuller, Foxe, Walton, Camden, Stow, Herbert, Donne, Whitaker, Turner, Heylin, Burnet, Stillingfleet, Dyer, Milton, the Bible, and the English Liturgy.

In selecting the best for his purpose, Wordsworth was unwilling to pervert or to blur what had been well done before him. And hence he transferred from his sources to his own work exact thoughts and exact images, and exact phrases as well. His versification of Bede is often more true to the original than is the English translation by A. M. Sellar. Such fidelity would do credit to the man of science; in the builder of a literary Church which will represent a real Church it is no less admirable. Wordsworth would give us Bede and Walton as in themselves they really are. Like Hooker, whose passion for truth he knew through Walton's *Life*, he had 'searched many books and spent many thoughtful hours.'¹ Like Milton, to whose *History of Britain* he was indebted for *Artegal and Elidure*, he could appreciate the tireless investigation underlying all genuine literary work.

The labor necessary for his substructure he did not avoid. Virgil had gone to ceremonial books of the priestly college, to Cato's *Origines*, to Varro's antiquarian treatises; perhaps to *Annales* and *Fasti*; to Nævius, Ennius, Homer and the Cyclic poems, the Greek tragedies, the *Argonautica*.² In the same spirit Wordsworth opened the liturgy, Stillingfleet's *Origines*, Davies' antiquarian treatises, Stow's *Chronicle*, and the works of Camden and Foxe, of Drayton, and of Bede and Milton.

¹ Walton, *The Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, Herbert, and Sanderson*, 2 vols., Boston, 1832, 2.78.

² Sellar, *Virgil*, p. 310.

It is impossible in every case to tell how conscious or how recent was Wordsworth's debt, for his memory always served him well. Bede and Turner were directly consulted; and it is probable that the histories of Fuller and Daniel lay close to his hand. From the old books that did not come amiss¹ when he was preparing an album for Lady Mary Lowther in 1819, he doubtless refreshed his knowledge of passages chosen, as Harper says, 'for solidity, elevation, and sincerity.'² That other books, old or new, had been recently acquired we learn from two letters to Henry Crabb Robinson, who seems to have mediated between Wordsworth and 'the bookseller near Charing Cross.' These books, which had not arrived by January 23, 1821, were in Wordsworth's possession on March 13.³

The poet was badly misled by his authority only in one instance, when he followed Foxe's erroneous account of the humiliation of Barbarossa by Alexander III. On the other hand, his favorable estimate of Laud has been corroborated by later historical study,⁴ and was pronounced, as he told Miss Fenwick, long before the Oxford Tract Movement.

Throughout the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* the temper of Walton rules; Fuller's condensed power has been helpful to Wordsworth in the management of vast topics like the Crusades and the wars of York and Lancaster; Daniel's style, lucid and unadorned, reappears to advantage in sestets which must be precise or final. Dyer's sensibility and Burnet's vivacity, Whitaker's zeal for circumstantial detail, all seem to live again in the sonnets they have helped to make.

Nor did Wordsworth lack skill to supplement or balance one source with another, or to discard what was specious or bigoted in his authorities. Save in dealing with the Norman Conquest, he treats people and events with sympathy and judgment; More and Cranmer, Milton and Laud, all receive unbiased praise, while Sacheverell and the dissenters are

¹ Undated letter to Wrangham, *Letters* 2.128.

² *William Wordsworth* 2.310.

³ *Letters* 2.141, 143.

⁴ Gardiner, *The Great Civil War*, 1889, 2.50-1.

impartially rebuked. Of monasticism and reform alike the poet is a generous interpreter.

His tolerance was recognized by the eminent Roman Catholic writer Montalembert;¹ and the spirit of pure faith and humility which lay beneath his tolerance recommended him to Kenelm Henry Digby, a young English writer whose zeal had carried him farther into ritual and ecclesiastical tradition than Wordsworth was willing to go. Digby not infrequently quoted Wordsworth in the *Mores Catholici*;² and between the two there later arose the friendliness of authors having a similar enthusiasm.³

Wordsworth's omissions are noteworthy. Cædmon, who sang out of his heart, is passed by for Bede the translator. William, Lanfranc, and Anselm are not mentioned; but Richard, the Norman become Englishman, and Henry V, point the folly of conquest. The civil wars of England are lightly touched on; enmity of class against class, sect against sect, plays no important part in the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*; great men are not pitted against great men—rather does a succession of great men illustrate the epic march of an impersonal struggle. In this way Wordsworth avoids a dramatic violence that would distort his medium, while retaining the vigor of good narrative. And he overcomes the temptation to crowd his action with persons and events. Many well-known characters are masked or lightly sketched. Aidan, Theodore, Hadrian, Wilfrid, Bernard, Thomas Bradwardine, Wolsey, Henry VIII, can be descried in passages where no names are mentioned.

As a scholar Wordsworth was astute: he found the main sources, and he did not lose his sense of proportion. Other poets of his time had been great readers and eager for research, Coleridge and Scott, for instance. Neither has so successfully reconciled his scholarship with his poetry; neither has been

¹ *Monks of the West*, 1861, Introduction, 1.96, note.

² London, 1844, 1.1.7, 17; 1.5.45; 1.8.87.

³ *Letters* 2.441; cf. also an article in the *Athenæum* 3579.714, May 30, 1896.

so modest a student, for when Wordsworth wrote to Wrangham in 1819 that his reading powers 'were never very great'¹ he did not at all imply that they had been unwisely or vainly exercised. He well knew the 'good elder writers,'² and to Allsop in 1821 he seemed 'almost as good a reader as Coleridge,'³ and even more authoritative.

Nor was Wordsworth exclusive in his enthusiasms. What he studied and found good he related to what he had studied and found good. The pure faith of Walton and the celestial secrets of Milton were for him as admirable in Jacobean and Caroline times as the piety of Bede and the imagination of Gregory in the early Middle Ages. Alfred and Elizabeth he found comparable; Saxon monks and eminent reformers, of one lineage. The unity of his poem is in large part due to his unwillingness to exalt one period over another.

With scholars a pioneer, therefore; as an artist re-established in his art by study of the works of poets and cathedral builders; as a historian animated by the spirit of Bede and Alfred; as a poet linked with Virgil, with Dante, with Milton, and with Spenser by the nature of his theme, Wordsworth wrote the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*.

DATE OF COMPOSITION

Wordsworth left France early in November, 1820; he then spent a fortnight in London, and another at the Lodge, Trinity College, Cambridge.⁴ If one of the sonnets on King's College Chapel was written at Cambridge, as seems possible,⁵ and if MS. F (p. 107) is to be accepted as evidence, *Eccl. Son.* 3.44 was the first of the series to be composed. Wordsworth wrote to Crabb Robinson in March, 1821:

¹ *Letters* 2.125.

² *Letters* 1.468-9.

³ Knight, *The Life of William Wordsworth*, 1889, 3.52.

⁴ *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. xxix.

⁵ Cf. Knight, *Life of William Wordsworth*, 3.53, 54; and Hutchinson, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 451.

'I should like to send you a sonnet composed at Cambridge, but it is reserved for cogent reasons—to be imparted in due time.'¹

It is 3.44 that best satisfies this reference; 3.43 is dependent rather upon its printed source in Dyer than upon visual impression.

From Cambridge Wordsworth went on to Coleorton Hall, where one of the group 3.39, 3.40, 3.41—or perhaps the whole group—was conceived, as the Advertisement relates (p. 117). Judging by its presence in MS. F (p. 108), 3.41 would be the earliest of these.

On Dec. 24, 1820, Wordsworth was at home in Rydal. He sent to Sir George Beaumont on Jan. 6, 1821, an account of Millom Church, where Myers was buried. Of the return-journey he wrote:

'My road brought me suddenly and unexpectedly upon that ancient monument called by the country people "Long Meg and her Daughters." Everybody has heard of it, and so had I from very early childhood, but had never seen it before. Next to Stonehenge, it is beyond dispute the most noble relic of the kind that this or probably any other country contains.'²

Since *Long Meg* is included in MS. F (pp. 104–5), where it is closely related to *Eccl. Son.* 1.2, 1.5, and to the group headed by 3.35, it may be assumed that those parts of Wordsworth's design are later than Jan. 6, 1821.

By March 27, 1821, the series was well under way. Dorothy wrote to Mrs. Clarkson:

'William is at present composing a series of sonnets on a subject which I am sure you would never divine,—the Church of England—but you will perceive that, in the hands of a poet, it is one that will furnish ample store of poetic materials. In some of the sonnets he has, I think, been most successful.'³

¹ *Letters* 2.146.

² *Letters* 2.138–9.

³ *Letters* 2.147.

And in May to the same correspondent she sent word:

‘My brother is still hard at work with his sonnets.’¹

By Nov. 24, 1821, however, the sonnets were ‘at rest,’ as Dorothy wrote to Crabb Robinson.² Wordsworth had begun work upon the *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent*, 1820.

The exact date of the sonnets added in 1827 remains unknown. Except for 3.12 (pp. 44, 200), they may have been among those ‘very good’ ones which Dorothy says were written shortly before Dec. 18, 1826.³ The sonnet published in 1832 is by Knight referred to Dec. 7, 1827 (p. 30); but the three sonnets published in 1835 remain undated, unless we assume 2.4 to be based on *St. Bees*, written during or after the tour of 1833 (p. 47). To Moxon, who was preparing the edition of 1836–7, Wordsworth wrote (1836) that ‘the ecclesiastical sonnet, beginning “Coldly we spake. The Saxons overpowered,”’ was ‘new.’⁴

With the exception of *Eccl. Son.* 2.1, 2.2, 2.9, and 2.10, the additions of 1842 and 1845 are elsewhere (pp. 30–3, 50–3, 54–7) discussed in reference to MSS. and the history of the text. Knight says of *Eccl. Son.* 2.9, and 2.10, however:

‘In a letter to Professor Henry Reed, Philadelphia, September 4, 1842, Wordsworth writes: “To the second part of the series (the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*) I have also added two, in order to do more justice to the Papal Church for the services which she did actually render to Christianity and humanity in the Middle Ages.”’⁵

Dowden repeats Knight’s note (omitting the words ‘and humanity’ and the parenthesis). He also applies it to *Eccl. Son.* 2.9 and 2.10. Smith and Hutchinson likewise assert that 2.9 and 2.10 were composed in 1842. But no evidence

¹ *Letters* 2.150.

² *Letters* 2.160.

³ *Letters* 2.299.

⁴ *Letters* 3.120.

⁵ *P. W.*, Edinburgh ed., 7.41; Eversley ed., 7.42.

is given by Knight or Dowden or Smith or Hutchinson that these two rather than 2.1 and 2.2 are the sonnets to which Wordsworth refers. Indeed, the words of the letter, 'did actually render,' point to 2.2 and 2.9 as more explicitly doing 'justice to the Papal Church.' Editors have not yet hazarded a date of composition for 2.1 and 2.2; but have, without adequate evidence, believed their conclusion on 2.9 and 2.10 to be final.

MANUSCRIPTS

I. ENUMERATION

- A. MS. of *Eccl. Son.* 2.2 in Wordsworth's own handwriting. Quoted by Knight (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 1896, 7.37).
- B. MS. of *Eccl. Son.* 3.21, dated December 7, 1827, sent by Wordsworth to Coleorton Hall. Also MS. of *Eccl. Son.* 3.25. Both quoted by Knight (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.90-1, 93).
- C. Variant readings for *Eccl. Son.* 2.1, 2.10, 3.12, 3.19, 3.26, 3.29, 3.32, given among the MS. additions to Lord Coleridge's copy of the 1836-7 edition of Wordsworth's *Poetical Works*. Quoted by Knight (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.35-6, 43, 83, 89, 94, 96, 98).
- D. MS. of *Eccl. Son.* 3.13, 3.14, 3.15, sent with a letter from Wordsworth to Henry Reed, March 1, 1842. The present editor has consulted the original in the collection of Mrs. St. John.
- E. MS. of *Eccl. Son.* 3.16, 3.26, 3.27, 3.29, 3.30, 3.28, 3.31, and, in part, 3.32 and 3.19, sent with a letter from Wordsworth to Henry Reed, March 27, 1843. The present editor has consulted the original in the collection of Mrs. St. John.
- F. MS. of *Eccl. Son.* in part (with certain *Miscellaneous Sonnets*, certain sonnets from *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent, 1820*, and one of the *Itinerary Sonnets, 1833*). This MS. is in the collection of Mrs. St. John. It has been consulted by the present editor, who

believes it to be a copy by Mrs. Wordsworth of an early draft of *Eccl. Son.* In this edition it is printed, and evidence is given for its authenticity.

2. DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION

A, B, C

Knight is the authority for the readings of A, B, and C (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.37, 90-1, 93, 35-6, 43, 83, 89, 94, 96, 98; 1.xlvi, xlvii).

D

With a letter of March 1, 1842, Wordsworth sent to Henry Reed a copy of *Eccl. Son.* 3.13, 3.14, and 3.15. The original letter in Mrs. St. John's collection is as follows:

'I have sent you three sonnets upon certain *Aspects of Christianity in America*, having as you will see a reference to the subject upon which you wished me to write. I wish they had been more worthy of the subject; I hope, however, you will not disapprove of the connection, which I have thought myself warranted in tracing, between the Puritan fugitives and Episcopacy.'

The three sonnets accompanying the letter are written upon a double sheet. Wordsworth's signature is affixed to each sonnet, the sonnet itself being in another hand. The sheet is undated, and, except for minor differences in punctuation and the use of capital letters, contains no new readings. The second of the three sonnets has the title *Return to the Church in England*.

E

With a letter of March 27, 1843, Wordsworth sent to Henry Reed a copy of *Eccl. Son.* 3.16, 3.26, 3.27, 3.29, 3.30, 3.28, 3.31, and, in part, 3.32 and 3.19. The original letter, in Mrs. St. John's collection, contains the following statement:

'I send you according to your wish, the additions to the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*.'

Reed's reply, written April 27, 1843, is also quoted from the original:

'Your letter of the 27th of March reached me some days ago. . . . Let me most cordially thank you for the precious enclosures in your letter. The Church sonnets have an especial interest inasmuch as they give a completeness to the Ecclesiastical series which was very greatly to be desired. There now seems to be nothing wanting in fulfilment of the design of this imaginative commentary (if that be not too prosaic a title) upon the history and services of the Church.'

The MS. which accompanies these letters of March and April in the Wordsworth-Reed correspondence was pointed out to the present editor by Mrs. St. John in 1919. It bears no date, but it is creased into folds exactly corresponding to the cover of the letter it is supposed to accompany, and satisfies the references to such a document made by both Reed and Wordsworth. Moreover, the cover itself, which is stamped 'Ambleside Mr. 30, 1843,' 'Ambleside Ap 2, 1843,' and 'Returned for postage,' has the following note written on one flap of it:

'I will be much obliged if you will have the enclosed sonnets copied and sent to Bp. Doane, who has not given me his address. W. W.'

The document is a double sheet written on all four pages. The sonnets included are 'Bishops and Priests,' *The Marriage Ceremony*, *Thanksgiving after Childbirth*, *The Communion Service*, *Forms of Prayer at Sea*, *Visitation of the Sick*, and *Funeral Service*. Then follow alterations of *Rural Ceremony* and of *The Liturgy*.

Clearly, E is the important evidence for the date of *Eccl. Son.* 3.16, 3.29, and 3.30, respectively 'Bishops and Priests,' *The Communion Service*, and *Forms of Prayer at Sea*. These must have been composed before March 27, 1843. That they were composed after September 4, 1842, is indicated by the fact that Wordsworth did not mention them in their necessary

also, at the same time, added two
~~others~~ one upon visiting the sick,
and the other upon the thanksgiving
of women after childbirth, both
subjects taken from the services
of our Liturgy. ~~The~~ ^{To the} second part
of the same series I have ~~also~~ ^{added}
added two, in order to ~~join~~ ^{add}
to the Chapel Church for the
services which she did actually
render to Christianity and humanity
in the middle ages. By the
Bible, the source began when
Men of the Western world ~~was~~ ^{we}
slightly altered after I sent to
you not in the hope of substituting
a better verse, but merely to
avoid the repetition of the same
word, "brook" which occurs as
a ~~Latin~~ ^{Latin} rhyme in the ~~Polym~~ ^{Polym}
Fathers. - Then there some
I learn from several quarters
have been well received by those
who ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~con~~ ^{con} ~~try~~ ^{try} ~~her~~ ^{her} ~~whom~~ ^{whom}
than most ever was

Facsimile of a page of the letter from Wordsworth to
Henry Reed, September 4, 1842.

In the collection of Mrs. St. John.

connection when on that date he wrote to Henry Reed as follows:

'A few days ago after a very long interval I returned to poetical composition; and my first employment was to write a couple of sonnets recommended by you to take place in the Ecclesiastical series. They are upon the Marriage Ceremony, and the Funeral Service. I have also, at the same time, added two others, one upon Visiting the Sick, and the other upon The Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth, both subjects taken from the services of our Liturgy.'

This letter, a page of which is here reproduced in facsimile from the original in Mrs. St. John's collection, is final evidence also of the date of *Eccl. Son.* 3.26, 3.27, 3.28, and 3.31—respectively, *The Marriage Ceremony*, *Thanksgiving after Childbirth*, *Visitation of the Sick*, and *Funeral Service*. They were composed 'a few days' before September 4, 1842.¹

F

By far the most helpful of these six MSS. of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, although we are at some pains to establish its authenticity and value, is a paper-covered note-book which came to Mrs. St. John from the sale of the library of the Reverend W. L. Nichols.

Mrs. St. John has written the following data on the cover of the note-book:

'Earliest draft of *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. From Rev. W. L. Nichols' sale (1890)—1893 sale (autumn) of Woodlands, Bridgewater, who wrote *The Quantocks and their Associations*, read in Bath, 1871, published 1891. W. L. Nichols' library was rich in MS. of W. W.'s poems—in early MS. especially. See *The Athenæum*, Sept. 6, 1890. J. D. Campbell. F. 95.'

The MS. is undated. There are 57 pages of it, including the title-page, on one side of which is written ECCLESIASTICAL SONNETS, and on the other a table of contents. Beginning with the third, the pages are numbered, 1–55, and

¹ For a discussion of this point see my article in *Notes and Queries* for April 3, 1920.

both sides of the sheet are inscribed. At the bottom of page 1 are the words 'In Miss Wordsworth's hand writing'; of page 5, 'Partly in [here it is impossible to tell whether the word is 'Mrs.' or 'Mr.'] Wordsworth's hand writing'; of page 6, 'In ['Mrs.' or 'Mr.'] Wordsworth's hand writing'; at the side of page 12, 'In ['Mrs.' or 'Mr.'] Wordsworth ['s] hand writing'; at the bottom of page 54, 'In ['Mrs.' or 'Mr.'] Wordsworth['s] hand writing.'

There are in the note-book versions of 33 of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, versions of 6 sonnets now belonging to other series, and several fragments. Although the sonnets do not without exception follow the order in which they were published, they have a general continuity of their own. It is, however, worthy of remark that, barring three irrelevant errors, at the head of each sonnet stands the Roman numeral proper to it in the editions of 1845 and following.

After careful study I conclude that the handwriting of F is the same throughout title, table of contents, headings, sonnets, and footnotes. The numbering, the references to the scribes, and the title, *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* instead of *Ecclesiastical Sketches*, indicate that the MS. cannot be the earliest draft of the series, but must rather be, if authentic, a late copy of such a draft.

Since there seems to be no external evidence for its authenticity other than its presence in the libraries of Mrs. St. John and the Reverend W. L. Nichols, the admissibility of MS. F mainly rests on internal evidence. And if internal evidence establishes the right of MS. F to represent a draft of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* earlier than 1822, it is well to ascertain the identity of the scribe, in order that the good faith and accuracy of the copy may be attested.

The contents of the note-book are in this edition carefully printed. Irregular punctuation and misspellings have been retained. Penciled data occur here and there in the note-book. They have been disregarded in the printing and in the discussion.

Internal Evidence for the Authenticity of MS. F

The authenticity and priority of MS. F rest upon the proof of the following assumptions:

(1) The MS. contains material not used in the text of 1822, but adjacent in the sources to the material that *is* used in the text of 1822.

(2) The MS. is in form nearer to the original conception of the holy river than is the text of 1822.

(3) The scope of the series in the MS. accords as nearly with Wordsworth's original intention as does that in the text of 1822, but the MS. is less complete than the text.

(4) From the MS. are absent *all* the sonnets based on one of Wordsworth's most important sources.

(5) The relation of sonnet to sonnet in the MS. is such that it must antedate the separate publication of *Mem. Tour Cont.* 1820 and *Eccl. Sketches*.

(6) Where two or more versions of a sonnet are given, or where changes are made in the text of a sonnet, the improvement is in most cases undeniable; and it is the corrected version that has in most cases prevailed.

(1)

The MS. contains material not used in the text of 1822, but adjacent in the sources to the material that *is* used in the text of 1822.

First, in the MS. sonnet on the *Crusades* (1.34, pp. 99, 101), where lines 9-10 read: .

As a sharp pike set on a buckler's boss
Makes an efficient portion of the mighty shield.

The figure of the pike in the buckler's boss is used by Fuller in the *Holy War* (p. 14) in the same paragraph with the material of *Eccl. Son.* 1.34.1-8 (See Notes, p. 242). This figure is not retained in the text of 1822.

Secondly, in one of the MS. sonnets on the *Waldenses* (2.14, p. 100), where line 8 reads:

Cerberian mouths pursued with hideous bark.

The figure is much nearer to that of Fuller (*Holy War*, p. 150),

'This ignivomous cur (sire of the litter of mendicant friars called Dominicans) did bark at and deeply bite the poor Albigenes,' than is the reading of 1822, 'Fell Obloquy.' For the passage from Fuller, on which *Eccl. Son.* 2.14.8 is based, see Notes, p. 256.

Thirdly, in another MS. version of the sonnet on the *Waldenses* (2.14, p. 100), where the sestet is derived from Fuller's *Holy War* (pp. 141-2). In 1822 the sestet was transferred to the Notes of that edition. For the passages from Fuller on which depend both earlier and final versions of *Eccl. Son.* 2.14.9-14, see Notes, p. 256.

Fourthly, in the MS. sonnet on *Scene in Venice* (1.38, p. 93), which bears the heading 'A scene about the same period in the church of St. Mark, Venice.' This detail of St. Mark, prominent in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* 1.185 (See Notes, p. 245), is not retained in the text of 1822.

Such proof is final for the sonnets concerned, and indicative for the note-book as a whole.

(2)

The MS. is in form nearer to the original conception of the holy river than is the text of 1822.

First, there are included as an integral part of the series versions of four sonnets illustrating events by means of the phenomena of river and sky: *Mem. Tour Cont.* 1820 13 (two versions); *Eccl. Son.* 3.12 (not published with this series until 1827; in 1822 appearing as one of the *Mem. Tour Cont.* 1820); *Mem. Tour Cont.* 1820 34 (three versions); and *Misc. Son.* 2.9 (pp. 83, 102, 90, 90, 91, 96, 94).

Secondly, two references in the MS. to rivers have been discarded in the text of 1822: in 1.2 or 1.5 (p. 82).

(3)

The scope of the series accords as nearly with Wordsworth's original intention as does that of the text of 1822; but the MS. is less complete than the text.

Wordsworth said in the Advertisement to the edition of 1822:

‘During the month of December, 1820, I accompanied a much-loved and honoured Friend in a walk through different parts of his estate, with a view to fix upon the site of a new Church which he intended to erect. . . . Not long afterwards, some of the Sonnets which will be found towards the close of this series were produced as a private memorial of that morning’s occupation.’

Two such sonnets are in MS. F: *Misc. Son.* 3.7, *Eccl. Son.* 3.41; and *Eccl. Son.* 3.44, unless it had been written at Cambridge. However, *Eccl. Son.* 3.39 and 3.40 are not included in MS. F.

Wordsworth continued in the Advertisement:

‘The Catholic Question, which was agitated in Parliament about that time, kept my thoughts in the same course; and it struck me that certain points in the Ecclesiastical History of our Country might advantageously be presented to view in verse.’

These certain points in MS. F are the archiepiscopal influence on Henry V, the troubles of Charles I, the insult to the bones of Wyclif, eminent reformers, the abuses suffered by Henry II and John, the interdict in the reign of John, the humiliation of Frederick Barbarossa, the danger from Charles II, the exiles during the Marian persecution, the character of William of Nassau, the Crusades, the Gunpowder Plot, the persecution of the Waldenses, Elizabeth, Cranmer, and the mutability of outward forms.

Here it may be well to quote a passage from the Preface of Christopher Wordsworth’s *Ecclesiastical Biography*, 1810. He is discussing his scheme and its limitations (1.xi–xii):

‘Besides those obvious ones of restricting the history to that of our own country, and to the lives of our fellow countrymen, there appeared to me many reasons why the work should begin with the preparations towards a Reformation by the labors of Wickliffe and his followers, and not a few why it might well stop at the Revolution. Within those limits are comprehended, if we except the first establishment of Christi-

anity amongst us, the rise, progress, and issue of the principal agitations and revolutions of the public mind of this country in regard to matters of Religion:—namely, the Reformation from Popery, and the glories and horrors attending that hard-fought struggle; the subsequent exorbitances and outrages of the Anti-popish spirit, as exemplified by the Puritans; the victory of that spirit, in ill-suited alliance with the principles of civil liberty, over loyalty and the Established Church, in the times of Charles the First; the wretched systems and practices of the Sectaries, during the Commonwealth, and the contests for establishment between the Presbyterians and Independents at the same period; the hasty return of the nation, weary and sick of the long reign of confusion, to the ancient constitution of things, at the Restoration; the operation of those confusions, and of the ill-disciplined triumph of the adverse party upon the state of morals and religion, during the early part of the reign of the second Charles; the endeavors of Charles and his brother to restore Popery, and introduce despotism; the noble exertions of the clergy of the Church of England, at that interval, in behalf of natural and revealed Religion, and Protestantism, and civil liberty; the Revolution of 1688, together with the ascertainment of the distinct nature and rights of an established Church, and a religious toleration; and the principles of the Non-jurors.'

In their final ordering the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* exceed the scheme of Christopher Wordsworth in five notable particulars. They include:

- a. An extensive group relating to 'the first establishment of Christianity' in Britain, based mainly on Turner and Bede.
- b. Sonnets on the growth of the papal power.
- c. *The Aspects of Christianity in America*, added many years later at the suggestion of Henry Reed and Bishop Doane.
- d. A group on the liturgy.
- e. An extensive group on the mutability of external forms and on ecclesiastical architecture.

All of these elements except c. are to some degree present in MS. F, but b. and e. are most important, as is to be expected from Wordsworth's Advertisement; a. would be an extension desirable for the better understanding of b. Never-

theless, for the scope of the narrative proper in MS. F, William Wordsworth follows Christopher Wordsworth. If we except *Diocletian*, the assumed 'earliest draft' begins 'with the preparations towards a Reformation by the labors of Wickliffe' and stops at 'the Revolution of 1688.'

This vital connection of MS. F with Christopher Wordsworth's design and with Wordsworth's own intention constitutes one of the strongest arguments for its authenticity.

(4)

From the MS. are absent *all* the sonnets based on one of Wordsworth's most important sources, viz., *The History of the Anglo-Saxons*, by Sharon Turner.

Furthermore, Bede, whose *Ecclesiastical History* Wordsworth used very freely in Part 1, is represented in MS. F only by the sestet on the martyrdom of Alban; the Wordsworthian account of the famous speech, 'Man's life,' etc. (*Eccl. Son.* 1.16) is taken from Fuller, not from Bede.

Finally, none of the sonnets indispensably based on the histories of Burnet appear in MS. F.

Therefore it is more than probable that so definite a cleavage as to sources indicates priority for the MS. version.

(5)

The relation of sonnet to sonnet in MS. F is such that this must antedate the separate publication of *Mem. Tour Cont.* 1820 and *Eccl. Sketches*.

In MS. F the connection is logical between *Eccl. Son.* 1.6 (*Diocletian*) and *Mem. Tour Cont.* 1820 13: compare 'malice,' and 'fear'; 'lightning,' and 'whirlwind of anger'; 'unavailing shield,' and 'rocky fortress'; 'threats could shake,' and 'threatening to destroy'; 'flowery platform,' and 'flowers beside the torrent growing.' So *Eccl. Son.* 3.12 ('Down a swift Stream') and *Mem. Tour Cont.* 1820 34: compare 'calm leisure,' and 'shallows' (first version). Again, *Eccl. Son.* 1.38 (*Papal Abuses*) and *Mem. Tour Cont.* 1820 34: compare 'sky's fantastic

element,' and 'mimics of fancy' (second version). Again, *Eccl. Son.* 3.18 (*Pastoral Character*) and its intended contrast *Eccl. Son.* 1.39 (*Scene in Venice*), a contrast illustrated by *Misc. Son.* 2.9. Again, *Eccl. Son.* 1.4 (*Druidical Excom.*) and *Poems of 1833* 43: compare 'cumbersome load,' and 'sisterhood forlorn.' Finally, *Eccl. Son.* 3.35 (*Old Abbeys*) and *Poems of 1833* 43: compare 'pride deserving chastisement severe,' and 'the inviolable god that tames the proud,' and notice the connection of both with *Eccl. Son.* 1.4.

Therefore it is doubtful that when these sonnets were written Wordsworth had yet arranged the *Mem. Tour Cont.* 1820.

(6)

Where two or more versions of a sonnet are given, or where changes are made in the text of a sonnet, the improvement is in most cases undeniable; and it is the corrected version that has in most cases survived. Refer to the corrections in the following sonnets of MS. F: 1.1, 1.2, 1.16, 2.17, 3.18, 2.37, 3.19, 2.38, 3.34 on pp. 81, 81-2, 84, 88, 93, 95, 98, 103, 108. Notice also that the following sonnets of MS. F are different from any printed version: 1.5, 2.15, 1.34, 2.36, 1.4, 3.35 on pp. 82, 85, 99, 102, 105, 106.

Such evidence, it seems to me, proves these six assumptions in regard to MS. F: that it bears an authentic relation to Wordsworth's sources, his design, and his purposes; and that it is early in regard to his use of sources, his ordering of his material, and his artistic revision.

Therefore, as far as internal evidence may be considered valid, MS. F is admitted as an authentic representation of the sonnets included in it. One could not, however, safely assert that a sonnet wanting in MS. F was not of early composition, or did not belong to the series as first conceived.

The Scribe of MS. F

Next, it is well to ascertain the identity of the scribe, in order that the good faith and accuracy of the copy may be attested.

I returned to Rydal a Month
after, after having been nearly six weeks
in London. While there, I forwarded,
the address you gave me, a copy of my
Letter upon the Character of Burns, which
you had expressed a desire to see. The
Book Trade is in a most depressed state
- nothing but such books as have a
connection with Theology, & the religious
ferment that originated in Oxford, seem
to have the power of inducing People to
part with their ^{money} for literatures sake. Nor

is this much to be wondered at, for all
ranks & classes are compelled, by the
difficulties in the state of things, to reduce
their expenditure.

I brought back with
me from London an inflammation in
my eyes, from which I am recovering,
but I am still obliged to employ Mrs
W's Pen. Who writes with me in
kind remembrances to yourself &

Facsimile of Mary Wordsworth's script, July 18, 1842.

In the collection of Mrs. St. John.

The available evidence points to Mary Wordsworth, a facsimile of whose handwriting on July 18, 1842, is here reproduced. Although she formed her letters very much in the manner of the poet, her script of the later period is more fluent and steady than his. This appears from a comparison of the two documents (facing pp. 32 and 40) to which Reed referred on November 14, 1842 (*MS.*):

'Since last I wrote to you, I have had the gratification of receiving your two letters (of July and a few days ago that of Sept. 4). From the last being in your own handwriting I was glad to infer that the inflammation of your eyes mentioned in the former letter had passed away, and that you are in the enjoyment of your usual excellent health.'

After careful study of these letters and other documentary evidence, I conclude that Mary Wordsworth is the scribe of MS. F.

Importance of MS. F

MS. F is important for the following reasons:

First, it contains a fund of information for the student of Wordsworth's art. If use of sources be the subject of investigation, the three versions of *Waldenses* in the MS. are valuable data. If the refining of phrase and the excision of useless material be studied, the lessons taught on every page of the MS. are no less helpful.

Secondly, it contains some 35 unpublished lines of Wordsworth's composition.

Thirdly, when compared with the final version of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, MS. F permits a study of the development of structure, and hence justifies an estimate of Wordsworth's power to build. The formal beauty of the series is not an accident; it is an achievement the stages of which one may now follow in detail.

Fourthly, MS. F indicates more clearly, because more fundamentally, than does the final version, that Wordsworth's main purpose was to warn against bigotry, rage, and pride,

and against 'the pomps and vanities of earth.' Tolerance, humility, pure faith, constitute the ideal of MS. F no less than of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*.

Fifthly, MS. F, almost entirely lacking in reference to the Church of the Middle Ages, is the strongest evidence for one of Wordsworth's greatest imaginative feats. Not until after the first draft of his Church history was accomplished did he see that its scope demanded the sympathetic and scholarly study of a period hitherto known to him chiefly through its ecclesiastical monuments. Taking his cue possibly from Dyer's *History of Cambridge* 1.135, 155, with its references to Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, he procured the work of Turner, the best English book of its sort in existence at the time. With it and with Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the main original source, he proceeded to so careful a delineation of his subject that the result of his effort, Part I of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, is unique in English literature as a poetical account of the establishment and growth of Christianity in England.

EDITIONS 1822-1857

I. ENUMERATION

- a. *Ecclesiastical Sketches* by William Wordsworth. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row. 1822. Printed by A. and R. Spottiswoode, New-Street-Square.
- b. *Eccl. Son.* 2.43 and 3.12 are printed in the volume: *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent*, 1820. By William Wordsworth. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Reese, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row. 1822.
- c. [In volume 3 of] *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*. In Five Volumes. London: Printed for Longman, Reese, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row. 1827.
- d. [In volume 3 of] *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*. A New Edition. In Four Volumes. London: Printed for Longman, Reese, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, Paternoster-Row. 1832.

Kings Coll. Chapel.

what awful perspective when from our sight
 their portocutures the lateral windows high
 then meet the corresponding stonework edged
 with the soft chaguerings of a sloping light
 Mustangs or hazy or deserted Enchiridion
 their ^{are} ~~of~~ be that thus yourselves unseen
 between your prison bars with solemn sheer
 there (like your lustre fades) with coming night
 But from the arms of where list! Oh list!
 The music bursteth into second life
 and every stone throughout the Pile is lifted
 By the delicious note or many strife
 (The storm hath ceased the harmony is gone
 and now the sad sad heart is left alone)
 (Where ~~the~~ now the thrilling harmony, as you
 are the lost notes of lively rapture floor)
 (Of lively rapture or with softer flight
 Fondly relayed in mazes infinite)
 that thrills the heart and casts before the eyes
 Of the devout a veil of ecstasy?

- e. *Eccl. Son.* 2.4, 2.12, and 2.13 are printed in the volume: *Yarrow Revisited, And Other Poems*. By William Wordsworth. London: Printed for Longman, Reese, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, Paternoster-Row; and Edward Moxon, Dover Street. 1835.
- f. [In volume 4 of] *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*. A New Edition. In Six Volumes. London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street. [1837.]
- g. [In the volume entitled] *The Sonnets of William Wordsworth*. Collected in One Volume, with A Few Additional Ones, now First Published. London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street. [1838.]
- h. 'The stereotyped edition of the poems in six volumes, published in 1836-7, was re-issued, with a revised and slightly altered text, in 1840, and this edition of 1840 again was also reprinted in 1841, 1842, 1843 . . . ' (*P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. xxxii.)
[In volume 4 of] *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*. A New Edition. In Six Volumes. London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street. [1840.] [1841.] [1843.]
- i. *Eccl. Son.* 3.13, 3.14, and 3.15 are printed in the volume: *Poems, Chiefly of Early and Late Years; Including The Borderers, a Tragedy*. By William Wordsworth. London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street. [1842.]
- j. [In the volume entitled] *The Poems of William Wordsworth, D.C.L., Poet Laureate, etc., etc.* A New Edition. London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street. [1845.]
- k. [In volume 4 of] *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, D.C.L., Poet Laureate, etc.* In Seven Volumes. A New and Revised Edition. London. Edward Moxon, Dover Street. [1846.]
- l. [In volume 4 of] *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, D.C.L., Poet Laureate, etc., etc.* In Six Volumes. A New Edition. London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street. [1850.]
- m. 'In 1857 a six-volume edition of the poems appeared, in

which the notes dictated in 1843 by the poet to Miss Fenwick were first published, being prefixed to the individual pieces to which they severally refer.' (*P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. xxxii.)

2. HISTORY OF THE TEXT

I

a, b

In 1822 Wordsworth published under the title *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 102 sonnets, disposed in three parts, of 38, 36, and 28 sonnets respectively. He published during the same year the *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent, 1820*. Moreover, *The Jungfrau and the Fall of the Rhine near Schaffhausen* appeared in both series, in the latter with the following note: 'This sonnet belongs to another publication, but from its fitness for this place is inserted here also.'

c

From the *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent, 1820*, Wordsworth in 1827 transferred the *Author's Voyage down the Rhine (Thirty Years Ago)* to the *Ecclesiastical Sketches* as 'Down a swift Stream, thus far, a bold design,' now 3.12. It was thoroughly revised and helped to fill what Henry Reed fourteen years later called 'almost a vacant niche' after the *Obligations of Civil to Religious Liberty* (MS. of a letter to Wordsworth, April 28, 1841).

Obviously 3.12 was introduced for its value in the figure of the 'holy river.' But 10 other sonnets were added to the edition of 1827, where the plot would best support a renewed caution against the perils of idolatry, cruelty, and fanaticism (2.30, 2.33, 2.34, 3.7, 3.11, 3.36: respectively, *The Point at Issue, Revival of Popery, Latimer and Ridley, Persecution of the Scottish Covenanters, Sacheverel, Emigrant French Clergy*); or where the liturgical theme might be expanded with a possible gain in dignity and repose (3.20, 3.23, 3.24,

3.25: respectively, *Baptism, Confirmation, Confirmation Continued, Sacrament*).

A comparison of these with other poems first published in 1827 shows that the poet's access of zeal for spiritual freedom was shaped into a clear definition of the means whereby he thought it was to be secured: Faith and Grace. Latimer and Ridley were coupled in the 'might of Faith'; 'Faith preserved her ancient purity' in Alpine vales when 'the majesty of England interposed'; English shores gave to the 'Faith' of the emigrant French clergy 'a fearless resting-place.' And, above all, the wise contend for 'Faith' in the *Point at Issue*, surely one of the most characteristic of all Wordsworth's sonnets, even when considered apart from its place as the keystone of the structure of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. 'Grace descendeth from above' at baptism, and the 'Fountain of Grace' is lauded and magnified before the sacrament.¹

George Herbert's *The Temple: The Church Porch* must have been in Wordsworth's mind at this time. From it (stanza 1) he adapted the motto prefixed to the series in 1827.² To Herbert, as to Walton, Wordsworth returned with a deepening sense of kinship. Meekness, piety, and exalted purpose were already to be found in the *Ecclesiastical Sketches* of 1822; faith and grace were emphasized in the additions of 1827.

And the details of this first revision are so many specific indications that Wordsworth had been at work in a spirit of stern economy: 'glad step' (1.1.1) became 'faithful pace'; 'wild Companion' (1.1.3) became 'spirit ruled by his'; 'the glorious City' (1.13.4) became 'the immortal City'; 'Sweet

¹ Cf. *Misc. Son.* 2.5, 2.37, 3.44; and the poem prefatory to *P. W.*, *If thou indeed*.

² A verse may find him, who a Sermon flies,
And turn delight into a Sacrifice.
—Herbert.

A verse may catch a wandering Soul, that flies
Profounder Tracts, and by a blest surprise
Convert delight into a Sacrifice.
—Wordsworth.

Hallelujahs' (1.13.14) became 'Glad Hallelujahs'; 'prurient speculations' (2.37.9) became 'speculative notions'; and, perhaps most clearly indicative of all, 'polity and discipline' (2.40.10) became 'doctrine and communion.' The diction was remodeled to please the sensitive ear; phrases carefully involved were no less carefully turned into their substantive elements, with resulting fluency and power; the first two lines of 3.32 were revised to accord with the new members of the liturgical group; and, finally, the order of the sonnets near the beginning of Part 3 stood as follows: *Latitudinarianism*, *Clerical Integrity*, *Persecution of the Scottish Covenanters*, *Acquittal of the Bishops*, *William the Third*, *Obligations of Civil to Religious Liberty*, 'Down a swift Stream,' *Walton's Book of Lives*, *Sacheverel*, *Places of Worship*.

In the arrangement of 1827 the three parts contained 38, 39, 36 sonnets respectively.

Notable, too, is the position of *Ecclesiastical Sketches* in the collection. Although later to be shifted, the series was first included among the substantial poems: the *Memorials* of the tours of 1803, 1814, and 1820, the *Poems on the Naming of Places*, *Inscriptions*, and the series of *National Independence and Liberty*.

d

Five years later, in 1832, Wordsworth transferred the series into the company of *The White Doe of Rylstone* and the *Poems of Sentiment and Reflection*. The project of increasing the liturgical group, which, as the variant readings show, long continued a moot point with him, gained in favor. The one sonnet added this year was *Sponsors*, now 3.21. But he maintained a well-nigh perfect numerical balance, part to part: 38, 39, 37. His preference for ideas over images and his use of expressions which more and more transcend each other would lead him in 1845 to an abstract vocabulary and a neutral style; as yet, though simple and formal, his lines were vigorous: 'Melts into silent shades the Youth' (2.33.1) became 'The saintly Youth has ceased to rule.' We find the search

for the distinct word unabated: 'peace and equity' (1.24.7) became 'justice and peace.' Wordsworth had long been expounding the cost of peace, and the distinction between equity and justice; here the point was well taken. Indeed, the propriety of the changes in the text so far is easy to see. Almost without exception they make for a better understanding of the poet's aim, and, thanks to the soundness of his original conception and to his spacious design, have not impaired the one or encumbered the other.

e

The volume *Yarrow Revisited* appeared in 1835 with this note (p. 281): 'The three following Sonnets are an intended addition to the *Ecclesiastical Sketches*, the first to stand second; and the two that succeed, seventh and eighth, in the second part of the series.—See the author's Poems.—They are placed here as having some connection with the foregoing poem.' The three sonnets, now 2.4, 2.12, and 2.13, were 'Deplorable his lot who tills the ground,' *The Vaudois*, and 'Praised be the Rivers, from their mountain springs'; and the foregoing poem was *Stanzas Suggested in a Steamboat off St. Bees' Heads, on the Coast of Cumberland*. Lines 136-44 of the latter are in substance the same as *Eccl. Son. 2.4*. But the sonnet has by far a stricter economy and a closer application than the nine lines from which, for this very reason, I judge that it was remodeled.

If the derivation be from stanzas to sonnet, to the remnants of mediæval culture which Wordsworth saw on his tour of 1833 may be given partial credit for his subsequent desire to build up the beginning of Part 2 into a juster estimate of mediæval institutions, as institutions; their history and persons and circumstances he had fully set forth in 1822. Is it not akin to the temper of previous changes of the text, this desire to perpetuate the institution and the idea rather than accidents of the former and perversions of the latter?

But now once more the local Heart revives,
The inextinguishable Spirit strives.¹

The remaining two sonnets of this triad were not so important in themselves; but the three together formed an epitome of the series, the plea for wise organization contrasted with the summons to spiritual integrity, both crowned by a natural image which made the whole vivid. In conception *Vaudois* must be much earlier than 1835, for its source is partly Fuller's *Holy War* (p. 140), a paragraph where the phrases of *Waldenses* (1822) are closely imbedded with it. Possibly Wordsworth remodeled an incomplete and discarded draft of *Waldenses* to compensate for the new emphasis on monasticism (cf. MS. F, p. 100). 'Praised be the Rivers' supplied a needed tributary for the 'holy river.' Its contents are little more than can be found in *Poems Dedicated to National Independence and Liberty* 1.12, 1.16, and 2.10, with perhaps a reference to the Venetian breach with Rome during the ambassadorship of Henry Wotton.²

f

Wordsworth wrote to Moxon of the edition of 1836-7:

'The value of this edition—as hereafter will be universally admitted—lies in the pains which have been taken in the revisal of so many of the old poems, in the remodeling and often rewriting of whole paragraphs, which you know has cost me great labor, and I do not repent of it. In the poems lately written I have had comparatively little trouble.'³

With the addition of 'Coldly we spake,' 1.32, and the three sonnets of 1835, *Ecclesiastical Sketches* now made their appearance as *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. The division into three parts of 39, 42, and 37 sonnets respectively was still a proportionate one, and the textual changes, while not so much of a kind,

¹ *St. Bees* 149-50.

² Walton, *Lives* 1.148.

³ *Letters* 3.120.

give no hint that the poet would endanger the unity of the series, or that he failed to preserve a sane estimate of each individual sonnet.

He capitalized fewer nouns in this edition, and revised words which were obsolescent or over-precise: 'Frame (1.20.1) became 'Body'; '*nicer heed*' (2.3.2) became '*stricter heed*'; 'dreadless' (3.36.14) became 'fearless.' He consistently abandoned the use of noun as adjective: 'forest arches cool' (1.22.7) became 'sylvan arches cool'; 'enthusiast powers' (1.35.13) became 'Enthusiasts'; 'Convent Gate' (2.22.7) became 'Convent's gate'; 'phantom lakes' (2.27.13) became 'spectral lakes.' He took from certain phrases their partisan fervor; and hence some passages had the curious effect of under-statement. The thorough 'remodeling' given to parts of 1.16, 1.27, 2.8, 2.13, resulted in the sacrifice of a few specious and rhetorical passages, but his intensity of a decade ago was lacking: And on the whole the changes were cautious rather than economical.

g

Except for 2.14, the few textual changes of this series in the volume of 1838 were slight, and seem generally to have been disregarded during the preparation of later editions.

Wordsworth wrote to Reed July 5, 1844:

'What you advise in respect to a separate publication of my Church poetry, I have often turned in my own mind; but I have really done so little in that way, compared with the magnitude of the subject, that I have not courage to venture on such a publication. Besides, it would not, I fear, pay its expenses. The *Sonnets* were so published upon the recommendation of a deceased nephew of mine, one of the first scholars of Europe, and as good as he was learned.'¹

It is owing to John, son of Christopher Wordsworth, then, that *The Sonnets of William Wordsworth* collected in one volume appeared in 1838 with the following Advertisement:

¹ *Memoirs* 2.415-6.

'Some of my friends having expressed a wish to see all the sonnets that are scattered through several volumes of my Poems brought under the eye at once; this is done in the present publication, with a hope that a collection made to please a few may not be unacceptable to many others. Twelve new ones are added which were composed while the sheets were going through the press.

My admiration of some of the sonnets of Milton first tempted me to write in that form. The fact is not mentioned from a notion that it will be deemed of any importance by the reader, but merely as a public acknowledgment of one of the innumerable obligations which, as a poet and a man, I am under to our great fellow-countryman.'

So many of Wordsworth's books were introductions, miscellanies, or fragments, or, like the *Lyrical Ballads* and *The White Doe of Rylstone*, were the outgrowth of some one period, that the volume of 1838 has a unique interest. The poems in it are of one kind, they are of a kind in which Wordsworth excelled, and they are representative of half a lifetime. With this in mind, and some regard for the opinion of 'one of the first scholars of Europe,' we may well note the arrangement of the volume: *Miscellaneous Sonnets*, *Political Sonnets*, *Itinerary Sonnets*, *The River Duddon*, and *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. The *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* were placed at the apex of a series.

II

i

The name of Henry Reed serves as a preface to the next chapter in the history of the text. Without him this series might have rested at the summit of the body of Wordsworth's sonnets, the purity of its outline undisturbed, its purpose still single.

Reed was courtly—almost fulsome—in address, as we come to know him through his letters. Yet he was strong and very fine; it is easy to see how firmly and completely he fitted into the thoughts and moods of Wordsworth's old age. He failed to realize, however, that the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* constituted

a narrative poem written on the history of the English Church. His zeal to expand its frail connection with the religious life of America and its exposition of the liturgy does credit to him as a churchman; nor was it unsound if we approve his plan of strengthening the spiritual bonds between England and America; still it smacked a little of cult, and led to a tampering with Wordsworth's greatest structure. He wrote to Wordsworth:

'There is a subject which from time to time has occurred to my mind—and which I have felt a strong desire to introduce to your consideration, though restrained, let me assure you, by no little diffidence about it. . . . Without further preface, and more than you perhaps will think the subject calls for, let me say that it is the suggestion of an historical occasion closely connected with your *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* and one which I hope may strike you, when it is presented to your reflections, as worthy a place in the series—the consecration of the American Bishops, and the consequent transmission of the spiritual functions of the Church in England to the daughter Church on this Western Continent. It has often struck me that there was something of a moral sublimity in the event, considering the precise period when it took place in 1787, so soon after all the animosity of the revolution which separated the colonies from Great Britain, and yet so admirable a spirit prevailing on both sides, with the ecclesiastical power that was giving—and that which was receiving. One of the candidates for consecration (Bp. W.) had been chaplain to the revolutionary Congress, but nothing could be truer, better reconciled with his sound American policy, than his deep and reverential affection for old England. He kept it alive to the end of a life of nearly 90 years. Pray, my dear sir, have the goodness to give this subject . . . a place in your thoughts, and pardon the liberty I have taken in presenting it to you. The ecclesiastical sympathy of the countries is an excellent peace maker and peace keeper and I am sure no one would be more ready than you to contribute to the feeling. I did not well know in what way to put you in possession of the circumstances attending the consecration of the American Bishops. I hardly thought it worth while to send you a copy of the Biography of Bishop White, but in its stead have sent a reviewal I wrote of it a year or two since.

which notices some of the incidents. I have sent it to my correspondent in London.' ¹

Wordsworth entertained the plan kindly, and, as appears from Reed's second letter, sent word that 'Bishop Doane had chanced to make the same suggestion.' ² Moreover, Reed was not content to let the matter rest. He urged his project in even greater detail:

'Surely no measure in the history of the Church in England has been calculated to spread her principles over a larger section of Christendom. The Church in this country has gone on in perfect harmony with our popular systems of government, and will I believe prove one of the indirect means of checking any tendency of these systems to irregularity, for it came along with a spirit of discipline. Besides every day is showing the sympathy it creates between the two nations, when in the lower region of more worldly concerns, diplomacy, and commerce, and money, there may be, most unhappily, arising frequent occasions of dissatisfaction and estrangement. These are some of the reasons why I am so anxious for you not to dismiss the subject from your thoughts. In most perfect sincerity I assure you that fourteen lines upon it from your pen may exert an influence more wide and lasting than you can well realize or than I can calculate. If there is one thing more gratifying than another to every one to whom your poetry is dear, it is to observe the constant indications of its influence upon minds of highly reflective power, and also on those of different constitution.' ³

The sonnets arrived in due time. Reed acknowledged his high 'gratification' and expressed Mrs. Reed's thanks 'for the felicitous manner in which you have introduced the name and character of her revered grandfather, Bishop White. The manner in which you have connected the Puritans with the subject was indeed unexpected, but I have nothing in my churchmanship to prevent a cordial sympathy with the tribute you have paid to them.' ⁴

¹ MS. letter of April 28, 1841.

² MS. letter of November 29, 1841.

³ MS. letter of November 29, 1841.

⁴ MS. letter of March 30, 1842.

The three sonnets composing this group, *Aspects of Christianity in America*, 3.13, 3.14, and 3.15, were first published in the volume of 1842, *Poems, Chiefly of Early and Late Years*.

h

Meanwhile the stereotyped edition of 1836-7 had been slightly revised, and was reissued in 1840; from the plates of 1840 reprints were made in 1841, 1842, and 1843. The *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* are scarcely concerned in this remodeling.

j

The one-volume edition of 1845, however, has three important structural changes:

(1) The expansion of the apology for the mediæval Church at the beginning of Part 2.

(2) The rearrangement of the order at the beginning of Part 3, with the insertion of *Aspects of Christianity in America*.

(3) The disproportionate increase in the group of sonnets on services of the liturgy.

In all, 14 sonnets were added: 4 to Part 2, and 10 to Part 3. The final proportion, part to part, stood 39, 46, 47.

(1)

Of these changes, the expansion of the group at the beginning of Part 2 seems the most defensible. First, because the plot was strongest in Part 2, and could there most safely be relaxed. Secondly, the transition from Part 1 to Part 2 had previously been abrupt, and needed the help of a comprehensive survey such as 2.1 and 2.2 were now able to give. Thirdly, the change was in the interest of poise: toleration was emphasized in the theme, and a heightening by contrast gained for the treatment of the theme.

Wordsworth's letter to Reed, September 4, 1842, has been discussed. Two sonnets were added to Part 2 'in order to do more justice to the Papal Church for the services which she

did actually render to Christianity and humanity in the middle ages.’¹ Here, then, is one fruition of the ‘unextinguishable Spirit’ of *St. Bees*. Reason for believing that these two sonnets were 2.2 and 2.9 has been given (pp. 29–30); if that evidence be valid, the other two, 2.1 and 2.10, whose non-existence on September 4, 1842, was implied, must have been conceived later. They are more general than 2.2 and 2.9, and they contain a figure applicable to the series as a whole.

(2)

In Part 3 *Walton's Book of Lives* was restored to its place after *Latitudinarianism*, *Sacheverel* was placed before ‘Down a swift Stream’—an improvement, since the latter seemed a natural cadence for the history of the English Church, and what now became its final line, ‘How widely spread the interests of our theme,’ led on to a quieter strain of Part 3. At this point, then, Wordsworth inserted the three sonnets on *Aspects of Christianity in America*. It cannot be denied that the juncture was deftly made, nor that the subject had been handled far more ably than Reed could foresee or fully appreciate. For, considerations of structure aside, Wordsworth’s experience in tolerant and judicious appraisal of ecclesiastical events rightly prompted him, if he would be just to the religious history of America, to retail the Pilgrim adventure before he celebrated the episcopal return.

In a letter of April 28, 1842, Reed made an acknowledgment of Wordsworth’s greater wisdom:

‘Let me here return to some subjects I could only allude to in a very hurried postscript to my last. And—foremost of these—a more deliberately expressed thankfulness is due for the sonnets on the Church in America. They indeed far transcend the simple suggestion I had ventured to make. I scarcely deemed myself justified in proposing more than the introduction into the Ecclesiastical Series of the transmission of Episcopacy to America as an event in the history of the Church in England; and therefore, so far as I allowed myself

¹ See the facsimile facing p. 32.

to anticipate your mode of treating the subject I thought it not improbable that your imagination would incorporate the theme suggested into the series of poems by presenting the scene in Lambeth palace—the consecration of the American Bishops, so soon after the revolutionary war—in the graphic and meditative form in which in many of the sonnets you have there recorded events in British Church history. But, finely as I can conceive the story might have been told by you taking this view of it, assuredly the subject has a grander scope by the connection you give to it with the Pilgrim settlers. I cannot help saying to you, what I could certainly say more unreservedly were I commenting on these poems to any one else, that I have been much impressed with the display of imagination, in one of its important modes of action, in the unity that is given in these poems to the events (running through more than a century and a half) from the migration of the Puritans to the Western world, down to the return of the American divines seeking consecration from the Church of England. The train of reflection, impressive to any reflecting reader, is apposite especially to my countrymen, too many of whom have been apt to trust to systems of worship neither raised nor limited save by self will.'

Could the memorials of this 'train of reflection,' however, have remained a group apart, would their service not have been as valuable? And would not the unity of the series have been better preserved? Even so, granted that the structure could support the added burden, was the consecration of American bishops at Lambeth not too recent an event to take its place with propriety in a narrative whose success depended largely on a perspective of years? This last question may also be asked of *Emigrant French Clergy*, although here as with 'Coldly we spake,' it is the animus of Wordsworth against France which has unfortunately outweighed discretion.

(3)

Reed, who had wished to make of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* an instrument for the spread of Episcopacy in America, was still not content with the series. On April 28, 1842, after a few words of gratification at his share in suggesting the previous addition, he wrote to Wordsworth:

'I trust you will not think your kindness in this matter is made a pretext for me to abuse it, if I suffered myself to be tempted to make another suggestion respecting the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, the completeness of which, considering the sacred association of the whole series, is especially to be desired. This consideration will, I hope, weigh with you as some excuse for my venturing to inquire whether among the sonnets in the latter part of the series on the rites and ceremonies of the Church—Baptism, Catechizing, and those (very favorite ones) on Confirmation, there should not be introduced two more, on the solemnization of Matrimony, and the other on the Burial Service. Are not these (the former in its introductory address and the latter throughout) among the most excellent of the liturgical ceremonies, and do they not—more perhaps than any other—appeal to that common human-heartedness, which is the very element in which your poetry moves and has its being? That inimitable burial service—at once so mournful and so consolatory—and so often solemnized to us all as to seem the paramount occasional service of the Church. I am confident that your imagination could not fail to touch both with tenderness and wisdom the feelings which either are or ought to be associated with that rite. I well remember the impression made on me by two lines in one of your other poems, merely alluding however in a different connection and for a different purpose to one of the incidents of the burial service—the lines in the stanzas *On the Power of Sound*,

The little sprinkling of cold earth [that fell]
Echoed from the coffin lid.

For not a little while the lines fairly haunted me. But I am dwelling too long—much too long on this subject, and probably you had some good reason for the omission, in which case all this is impertinence.'

Any exhaustive 'appeal to common human-heartedness' would in 1822 have been apt to arouse Wordsworth's suspicions, for *Eccl. Son.* 1.8, 1.23, 1.26, 2.3, 2.5, 2.20, 2.36, 2.37, were so many attempts either to transcend common human-heartedness or to define its perils. The warning in 1.20 should not have been forgotten: 'The way is smooth for Power that travels with the human heart. . . . Ye holy Men, so earnest

in your care, of your own mighty instruments beware!' More probably Wordsworth's own increasing faith in social rather than individual channels of religious feeling inclined him to this further versification 'of offices dispensing heavenly grace' (2.6.14).

Suffice it to say that 7 sonnets based on the liturgy were composed (see pp. 31-3), and in 1845 inserted as 3.16, 3.26, 3.27, 3.28, 3.29, 3.30, and 3.31; respectively: 'Bishops and Priests,' *The Marriage Ceremony*, *Thanksgiving after Child-birth*, *Visitation of the Sick*, *The Communion Service*, *Forms of Prayer at Sea*, and *Funeral Service*. The beginning of 3.32 was altered to accord with the sonnets which preceded it; 3.25.9, to accord with the sonnets which followed.

By 1845 the text had been slightly altered from the reading of the stereotyped edition of 1837; the changes follow the trend of Wordsworth's thought: 'memorial Sacrament' (3.25.3) became 'mysterious Sacrament.' The substitution of 'Furl we the sails, and pass with tardy oars,' for 'Nor can Imagination quit the shores' (2.8.1), was a decided gain, and could be urged as proof that Wordsworth still wrote for the ear and eye. In its movement, it is one of the best lines in the series.

Among the minor improvements are these: 'At length come those Waldensian bands' (2.14.6) became 'Then followed the Waldensian bands'; 'Blest be the Church' (3.20.1) became 'Dear be the Church'; 'sadness that' (3.2.2) became 'sadness which.'

The last three lines of *Elizabeth* (2.38.12-14) were entirely changed. The 'glorious light' has yielded to a 'foul constraint,' presumably Elizabeth's intolerant treatment of Mary Stuart. This is quite in keeping with Wordsworth's judgment of events at every turn. His consistency appeared also in his reluctance to write 'Church reformed' for 'new-born Church' (2.40.4); he felt that 'if taken in its literal sense, as a *transformation*, it is very objectionable.'¹ He yielded the point, however, to readers who were dissatisfied with the line as it stood.

¹ *Memoirs* 2.115.

k, l, m

In the reprint of 1846, taken from the stereotypes of 1836-7 revised to date, the notation of Parts 2 and 3 was slightly disturbed by the intrusion of the sonnets added to the series in 1842 and 1845. This formal difficulty was remedied in the edition of 1850. But the change of 'his' to 'its' (I.I.2) in the edition of 1850 cannot go undebated. The repetition of 'his' in two successive lines has, it is true, been avoided, but the use of both masculine and neuter pronouns with the image of Duddon confuses the idea; so much so that Mr. Carter for the edition of 1857 restored the reading of 1822-1845.

III

When the variant readings are thus studied in their relation one to the other, and when the sequence of changes in the text and about the text becomes clear, the way is open for a few valuable deductions.

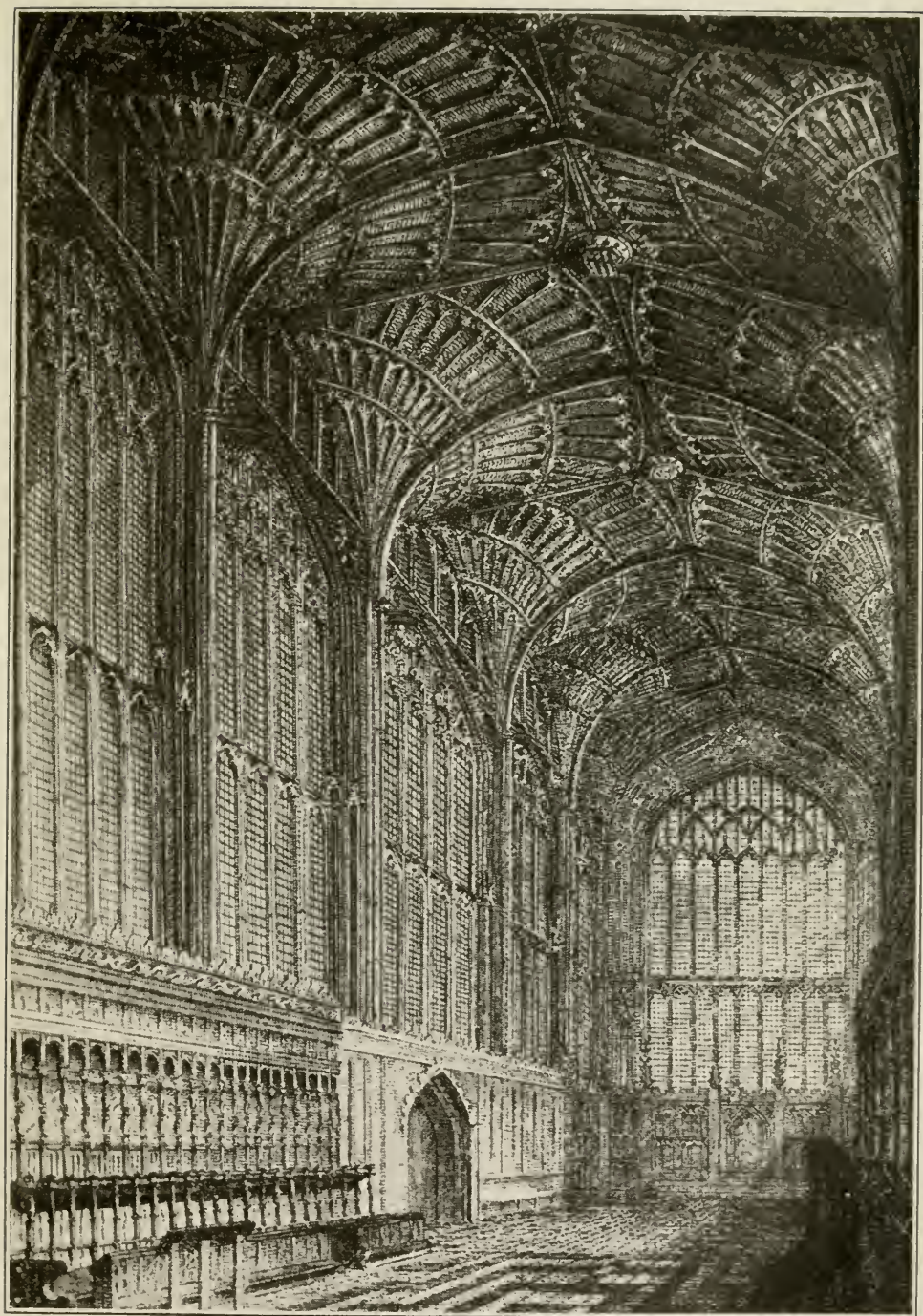
First. Wordsworth was above all the apostle of tolerance and moderation.

Secondly. Religion to him was a communal responsibility. Institutions were therefore its proper channels.

Thirdly. Polity and discipline, or—to use the word under which he included both—doctrine, must be supplemented by communion.

Fourthly. Although spiritual integrity should not be sacrificed, any appeal to sensibility was properly subordinate to logical truth and structural beauty.

Fifthly. A poem which celebrated the ideal beauty of religion, as it could be traced in the history of an institution, might well rest its artistic success upon the fine proportion of its design, and upon the simplicity, even the severity, of its workmanship.



Interior of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

INSIDE OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE

Tax not the royal Saint with vain expense,
With ill-matched aims the Architect who planned—
Albeit labouring for a scanty band
Of white-robed Scholars only—this immense
And glorious Work of fine intelligence!
Give all thou canst; high Heaven rejects the lore
Of nicely-calculated less or more;
So deemed the man who fashioned for the sense
These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof
Self-poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells,
Where light and shade repose, where music dwells
Lingering—and wandering on as loth to die;
Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
That they were born for immortality.

STRUCTURE

ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVE AND STRUCTURE

- Part 1 *From the Introduction of Christianity into Britain to the Consummation of the Papal Dominion.*
- a Britain before Augustine:
 - Celtic Britain (1-5); Roman Britain (6-9); Britons vs. Saxons (10-12).
 - b From Augustine to Alfred:
 - Introduction of Christianity (13-17); establishment of Christianity by good works (18-20), contemplation (21-23), enterprise (24-26).
 - c From Alfred to the consummation of the papal dominion:
 - Perils at home from Dane and monk (27-30), and Norman (31-32); perils abroad from infidel (33-35) and pope (36-39).
- Part 2 *To the Close of the Troubles in the Reign of Charles I.*
- a Apology:
 - Charity for the Roman see (1-2); the services of the monastic orders (3-5); religion and chivalry (6-8); progress and decline (9-10).
 - b Attempted reform; separation from Rome:
 - Rebirth of the true Church because of the preservation of the pure faith (11-14) and the spread of sanctified doctrine (15-17); abuses of (18-21) and regrets for (22-25) monasticism and Roman Catholicism; the reformers warned (26-28) and exhorted (29-32).
 - c Unity or schism:
 - Peril from Marian idolatry and tyranny (33-35), and from Protestant intolerance and schism (36-38); faction (39-42) and civil war (43-46).
- Part 3 *From the Restoration to the Present Times.*
- a Preservation of the true Church:
 - Paternal and patriotic love (1-2); Circean revels

or celestial light (3-5); tyranny or conscience (6-8); casual law and fierce extremes, or ancient virtue and the golden mean (9-12); concord and charity moving in circles with the return of the American divines to Lambeth (13-15).

b Ecclesiastical ceremony:

Solemn offices (16-18); the liturgy (19-31); regrets (32-33).

c Ecclesiastical architecture:

Types of the spiritual Church in truth and charity (34-37); in humble altar and low pile (38-41); in cathedral and college chapel (42-45); the eternal city (46-47).

NUMBER of SONNETS¹

	In 1822	In 1827	In 1832	In 1835	In 1837	In 1842	In 1845	In 1850
1a	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
1b	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
1c	12	12	12	12	13	13	13	13
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	38	38	38	38	39	39	39	39
2a	5	5	5	[6]	6	6	10	10
2b	19	20	20	[22]	22	22	22	22
2c	12	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	36	39	39	[42]	42	42	46	46
3a	9	12	12	12	12	[15]	15	15
3b	6	10	11	11	11	11	18	18
3c	13	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	28	36	37	37	37	[40]	47	47
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	102	113	114	[117]	118	[121]	132	132

An analysis of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* shows that the division of the series as a whole, and of each main part of the series, is tripartite, and that the middle group of each main part includes the greatest number of sonnets. Hence we might expect that Part 2 of the series would also be the dominant part; but this is not so after 1842. On the other hand,

¹ In the volumes of 1835 and 1842 only the additions to the series were published. The totals which were thereby changed are bracketed.

before 1845 the middle group of Part 3 was not the dominant group.

The series diminishes from part to part in 1822; but beginning with 1827 there is a gain in central emphasis for the series and for the parts. If a slight overdevelopment of Part 3 be disregarded, the final scheme is symmetrical as well as tripartite. Parts 1 and 2 have kept their proportions throughout.

Wordsworth first thought of his narrative as a holy river. He was then in a quandary over the less fluent aspects of his theme, the apologies for instance, and the liturgical and architectural groups. Although image and symbol might with fair success cover the disparity, his scheme was not fully unified until 1827, when he added 'Down a swift Stream' (3.12) and *The Point at Issue* (2.30). The result, while reminiscent of Dante, who faced the same problem, is far from Dantesque. Had Wordsworth, instead of tracing his holy river to an eternal city, foreordained one as part of the other—in the manner of Ezekiel and St. John as well as of Dante, his union of the temporal and eternal might have been more complete. And his attempt to combine *visio* and epic into an apocalypse of fact might better have stood the architectural test if his experience with liturgies and cathedrals had been as long as it was appreciative.

He has, however, undeniably made himself a part of the tradition of *Ezekiel*, *Revelation*, and the *Divina Commedia*. His design and his imagery are both fluent and architectonic.

The living Waters, less and less by guilt
Stained and polluted, brighten as they roll,
Till they have reached the eternal City—built
For the perfected Spirits of the just.¹

I. NARRATIVE

Further study of the analysis given above brings forth the following observations or inferences in regard to the narrative:

¹ *Eccl. Son.* 3.47.11-14.

First. The action concerns the survival of the pure Church; the points at issue are faith, freedom, and unity.

Secondly. The pure Church is subject to three perils: infidelity, tyranny, and schism. And hence there is a triple theme.

Thirdly. The action is simple, double, triple in sequence. The pure Church struggles with the infidel or pagan idolater—Briton, Saxon, Dane, or Turk; with the papal tyrant or royal tyrant, but no less with infidel and idolater; and with the dissenter, but no less with the infidel and the idolater, and with the tyrant.

Fourthly. The agents are Paulinus, Alfred, Canute, Richard I in Part 1; Wyclif, Edward VI, Cranmer, Elizabeth, Laud, in Part 2; Charles II, William III, and Sacheverell, in Part 3. This bears out the analysis just given. Paulinus was a pioneer against idolatry, Alfred defended Christian England from the pagan sway, in the person of Canute,

Sternest clime
And rudest age are subject to the thrill
Of heaven-descended Piety and Song,

and Richard I represented England against the infidels. Wyclif was the opponent of papal and monastic tyranny, Cranmer was the victim of an idolatrous reign, Elizabeth would have been a queen as merciful as prudent had she not executed Mary Stuart, and it was Laud's sad fate 'to be crushed betwixt popery and schism.'¹ Finally, Charles II, the 'Circean' reveler, and Sacheverell, the partisan, are ranged for contrast on either side of William III, who came 'to liberate, not defy,' whose 'steadfast eye' the 'vacillating Bondman of the Pope' could not meet.

Fifthly. If infidelity, tyranny, and schism are the recurring perils of the pure Church, faith, justice and peace, mercy and humility, and unity, are its eternal triumphs. Evidence of this might be found in almost every sonnet of the series.

¹ Dedication by Henry Heylin to *Cyprianus Anglicanus*.

Sixthly. The strands of the triple action can be traced back to the simple action, where pagan *Persecution*, *Temptations* to servitude, and *Dissensions* are found implicated with 'bold faith' (1.24.7), 'low-bowed necks' (1.19.11), and 'sacred converse' (1.26.14). Likewise these strands of the triple action can be traced through the double action, where 'Venus' and 'Bacchus' (2.20), 'Pride' (2.18.14), and 'civil slaughter' (2.16.9) on the one hand, and more fortunately on the other, 'Mercy' (2.4.8), meekness and innocence (2.31 and 2.32), and 'Unity' (2.9.2, 5) have both a retrospective and a prophetic function.

Seventhly. Not only in the narrative, but also in the liturgical and architectural groups, filaments of idea lead back to the early stages of the series, where already exist 'meek doctrines' (1.3.8), and 'rites that console the Spirit' (1.20.6), and 'Christian monuments' (1.12.8), 'quiet Fortresses' (1.24.3), 'sacred Structures' (1.24.8). And in the second part, too, occur 'offices dispensing heavenly grace' (2.6.14), and 'holy spires' (2.3.12) to point the way to the 'eternal City.'

Eighthly. In the conquest of infidelity, tyranny, and schism, and in the achievement of faith, freedom, and unity, the wise man seeks

Firmly between the two extremes to steer.¹

2. STRUCTURE

It needs but a glance at the engraving of the interior of King's College Chapel, or the recollection of certain fundamental passages in the *Description of the Scenery of the English Lakes*, to indicate the structural models of this 'immense and glorious work of fine intelligence.' We may adopt the image of 'lofty pillars, . . . branching roof self-poised,' or we may think of the mountains of Westmoreland:

'Their forms are endlessly diversified, sweeping easily or boldly in simple majesty, abrupt and precipitous, or soft and

¹ *Eccl. Son.* 2.40.11.

elegant. In magnitude and grandeur they are individually inferior to the most celebrated of those in some other parts of this island; but in the combinations which they make, towering above each other, or lifting themselves in ridges like the waves of a tumultuous sea, and in the beauty and variety of their surfaces and colors, they are surpassed by none.'¹

Either image is appropriate, for Wordsworth has used both in the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. Nor is there any doubt that as an artist he was conscious of his models. Structures 'where music dwells lingering—and wandering on as loth to die,' and that 'superficies of the Earth'² whose 'primitive conformation'² determined the course of the rivers he had loved in boyhood, were not forgotten as guides when he was to trace the holy river to the eternal city.

Of his 'heights of Time,' too, it may be said:

'After a certain point of elevation . . . the sense of sublimity depends more upon form and relation of objects to each other than upon their actual magnitude.'³

In his artistic procedure he follows a natural pattern:

'Level areas open upon the traveler in succession, divided from each other sometimes by a mutual approximation of the hills, leaving only passage for a river, sometimes by corresponding windings, without such approximation; and sometimes by a bold advance of one mountain towards that which is opposite it.'⁴

Therefore the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* have 'sublimity,' which is the result of 'first great dealings,' and 'beauty,' 'a multiplicity of symmetrical parts uniting in a consistent whole.'⁵

For convenience in reading, the main features of the structure will be given part by part.

¹ *Prose Works* 2.26-7.

² *Prose Works* 2.33, 30.

³ *Prose Works* 2.92.

⁴ *Prose Works* 2.30.

⁵ *Prose Works* 2.33-4.

Part I a

First we have a triad of frustrate attempts: the poet seeks, but seeking, is lost; Rome comes, but goes to return not; the Britons rise, but they, too, are lost.

There is an opposition of values (*ποιότης*) as well as of events (*πραξις*): transports and meek doctrines; that which feeds and cheers and that which enervates and divides; courage and despair.

Of the triple theme, danger from paganism is dominant.

Part I b

The cadence here is a hopeful one; the action is definitely advanced. Except for the slight retardation due to apology and reproof, we find a triumphant sweep from Gregory, Augustine, and Paulinus to Alfred; 'glad hallelujahs' result in 'prosperous enterprise, justice, and peace.' The opposition of values in Part I a becomes in Part I b a perfect balance. 'Good works mingle with the visions.' And Alfred's 'sacred converse' widens the scope of the design.

Part I c

Following the widened scope of Part I b both events and values now are extended throughout universal Christendom. The themes of peril from infidels and schism recur with emphasis; the theme of peril from Roman tyranny is again pre-eminent. Although mere events advance successfully from the line of Alfred and Canute to Richard, this specious gain is counterbalanced by an insidious perversion of spiritual power. 'Heaven-descended Piety and Song' become an imagination which hears 'God willeth it!' in approval of the deeds of men; this imagination leads enthusiasts into distress, and subjects an emperor to a pope. Thus the 'visions' of Part I b grow into a personification of 'the might of spiritual sway' and 'a ghostly domination unconfined'; whereas the 'good works' of Part I b end in thralldom, disregard for old

laws, the derangement of ancient customs, and the upheaval of all Christendom. Wordsworth's vivid phrase for the concentration in Part 1 c of the values which were opposed in Part 1 a and balanced in Part 1 b is as follows:

Through earth and heaven to bind and to unbind.¹

Part 2 a

With the scope thus extended, the themes thus emphasized, and the values thus concentrated, the poet makes ready for his greatest structural synthesis. Power and Unity, even though they be Papal Power and Papal Unity, are reasserted as the ecclesiastical ideal. Acknowledgment is made of the good works and the heavenly offices of the Roman see. The 'one aim diffused through all the regions of the West' seems to indicate a single confluence in Wordsworth's holy river. And the touch of assurance which could be traced in Part 1 b is present in these lines of Part 2 a:

All promises vouchsafed by Heaven will shine
In light confirmed while years their course shall run,
Confirmed alike in progress and decline.²

Part 2 b

Following upon so calm and just a restatement of the elements of the structural design, the opposition of the agents of pure faith and the agents of degenerate works becomes apparent. In this opposition the central counterpoise is that between selfishness and unselfishness, or 'high with low—celestial with terrene.' It has, as buttresses or tributaries, on the one side an early counterpoise between pure faith and pompous rite, exemplified in the Vaudois, the Waldenses, and Wyclif, and on the other a later counterpoise between 'trumpetry' and things not seen, exemplified in the Reformation of the Church during the reign of Henry VIII. These three buttresses, of which the outer ones are narrative, and the

¹ *Eccl. Son.* 1.39.8.

² *Eccl. Son.* 2.10.12-14.

central one descriptive, are bound together by two others which include them only in part: the counterpoise between abuse and justice, and that between the 'airy bonds' of Papacy and the 'mastery' of the Crown. The cadence of Part 2 b, however, is a hopeful one for universal Christendom. As analysts we remark the skill with which Wordsworth has avoided trite distinctions of political and ecclesiastical history, and has stressed the fundamental opposition of selfishness and unselfishness in this his central structure—a structure which is thus not less ethical than human nature. Nor should we fail to notice that Part 2 b contains *The Point at Issue*.

Part 2 c

But the hope for universal Christendom which always results when the elements of the structure come to an even balance or a just proportion is overturned by the recurrence of those themes which have maintained their insidious course. These are the perils of servitude to Rome, of 'Gods of wood and stone' (here the Spanish Gods), of schism. In Part 2 c Elizabeth and James save and are saved from Marian idolatry and Jesuit practices, it is true; but from the fair designs of 'holy and heavenly spirits' who would keep the balance and proportion, the action is wrenched into a 'terrible excess of headstrong will.' This, of course, the structure may only suggest; it represents Laud as the victim. The analysis shows a quadruple and double grouping for Part 2 c, reminiscent of the strong opposition in Part 1 a. That which emerges 'pure, and seemingly more bright,' the Elizabethan moon, rides finally in 'gentle skies' which vainly reprove the 'conspicuous torment' of the flood. Hopes become a wilderness, blessings are cursed, glory is turned to shame.

Part 3 a

From the turmoil which the action indicates and the structure firmly restrains, for the third time comes a hopeful cadence. As for events, James II, 'the Bondman of the Pope,' opposes,

and is replaced by, William III. As for themes, the peril of idolatry disappears with this same 'conqueror beloved'; the peril of Roman tyranny disappears with him as it has faded with the acquittal of the Bishops; the peril of schism is forgotten when the American divines return for their consecration at Lambeth. As for values, the Circean revels of Charles II are contrasted with and outweighed by the 'celestial light' of Milton; the brutality toward the Scottish Covenanters is atoned for by the acquittal of the Bishops; the 'eternal roll of praise' contains dissenter and churchman alike. Obligations of civil to religious liberty bind this series of contrasts with the assertion of unity—'What came from heaven to heaven by nature clings.' Moreover, upon this series of contrasts rises a group, triple and tripartite, which reaffirms the triumph of soul over sense. The world is outweighed. Appropriately Wordsworth asks, 'Had mortal action e'er a nobler scope?'¹

The action is complete, the swift stream runs but a lingering course, the everlasting pile is ready for its spires.

One of these spires points to the dependence of star upon star in the services of the Church, that 'zodiac' of the ritual year; the other rests upon actual churchly foundations of the imperishable 'home.'

Part 3 b

The liturgical group has an introductory triad which leads the mind from Sacheverell and White to Bishops and Priests as a class; thence to the places of worship in their kindred nature; thence to the pastoral character. Here is a masterly transition. The liturgical services are arranged according to the ascent and decline of human life. In conclusion stand two sonnets (3.32, 33),

Giving to Memory help when she would weave
A crown for Hope!³

¹ *Eccl. Son.* 3.9.9.

² *Eccl. Son.* 3.33.5-6.

Part 3 c

Here the poet has erected the actual counterpart of his eternal city; and to it finally, with a gloria for all tabernacles, natural, human, and divine, comes to rest

That Stream upon whose bosom we have passed
Floating at ease while nations have effaced
Nations, and Death has gathered to his fold
Long lines of mighty Kings.¹

These 'types of the spiritual Church' are most felicitously addressed in terms of the three theological virtues. The first four sonnets of the group, with passing reference to monastic domes, lead on to 'Charity' and 'judgments temperate'; in the second quartette the 'wished-for Temples rise,' the 'Abode of genuine Faith'; and next come the 'Monuments of love Divine' which typify 'by reach of daring art Infinity's embrace.' As a climax, and as a final instance of the three-fold structure of the series, this group is notable.

But the 'guardian crest' of the temple, the 'silent Cross, among the stars shall spread.'

Thus does Wordsworth by another graceful transition return to the imagery of the natural world. Ocean and Alpine mount are invoked:

Earth prompts—Heaven urges; let us seek the light,
Studious of that pure intercourse begun
When first our infant brows their lustre won;
So, like the Mountain, may we grow more bright
From unimpeded commerce with the Sun,
At the approach of all-involving night.²

ANALYSIS OF THE IMAGERY

It follows from what has just been said that the structural design and the decorative imagery in the latter part of the series very nearly concur. Not only is this true here, but at all the crises and cadences. The decoration, however, has

¹ *Eccl. Son.* 3.47.6-9.

² *Eccl. Son.* 3.46.9-14.

throughout been wisely subordinated to the structure, and must rather be sought as Dorothy Wordsworth, her brother, and Sir Walter Scott sought for the tracery on the stones of Melrose Abbey.¹

According to Aristotle, ἡ ὄψις ψυχαγωγικόν.² The spectacle wins the soul, even though it demand least skill. What ὄψις was to tragedy for Aristotle, decoration may be considered for the epic. And the natural spectacle of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* is something more than natural; if not strictly allegorical, it possesses a definite but intense associative power. It differs from the spectacle of Dante as the gardens of Westmoreland differ from those of Italy; but although it is seemingly more casual than Dante's rushes, Lethe and Eunoë, mount of purgatory, and ten heavens, it has a rigor and exactitude akin to those of the greater allegory; witness the following analysis:

Earth, mountains, etc.

Part I

(1) Heights of Time; (2) savage island in the west; (3) mystic ring; (4) road of the outcast; (5) Snowdon's wilds, Brigantian coves, Sarum, Western Isles, Iona; (6) Alban's flowery platform; (7) bespangled plain, reconstructed fanes; (8) temples flashing; (9) enervate land; (10) Cambria, Plinlimmon; (11) hill to hill, mountains, dust, field, foss, barrow, rampart; (12) indignant hills; (13) sad market; (14) unconscious shore; (15) royal hall; (16) warm abode; (17) desecrated fane; (19) shrines; (20) smooth way; (21) perennial bower; (22) dry nook in the living rock; (23) flowery mead, wild coast; (24) quiet fortresses; (25) barbarous shores, general mart; (26) Jerusalem, Christian India; (27) green plot of open ground; (30) Ely, suffering earth; (31) hut and palace; (32) wasted fields, sacred earth; (33) Nazareth, Bethlehem, Clermont, hill to hill, Nature's hollow arch;

¹ *Journals* 2.134.

² *Poetics*, ch. 6.

(34) Aquitaine, Spain, Italia, Bosphorus, Greece, precious tomb; (35) Cyprus, Palestine; (36) realms quake, ditches are graves; (37) gross materials of this world; (38) an emperor's neck leveled with earth; (39) ancient thrones are stuff.

Part 2

(2) Spiritual tower, sheltering bower; (3) sylvan waste, fertile lea; (4) earthbound stone; (5) forbidding den; (6) embattled hall; (7) river's margin; (8) bright regions, earth's requiem; (9) one aim through all the West; (10) blest soil of gospel truth; (11) the banks of Rhone, Nature's craggy throne; (12) subalpine vales, chasms; (13) mountain caverns; (14) from dens to sea-girt isle; (15) wilderness, cultured field, meadow-ground, garden; (16) fields that rival Cressy and Poitiers; (17) bones disinhumed and burned to ashes; (18) the way to Heaven; (19) cloistered avarice; (20) arched roofs abused; (21) mute belfries, unroofed choirs; (22) hushed green vales; (23) new and questionable road; (24) mourning hamlets, penitential desert; (25) Heaven's blue coast; (26) arch of Christendom; (27) cave, den, Arabian waste, stalking pillars of fiery sand; (28) ethereal plain; (29) ploughman; (31) clear land of vision; (32) clefts of woe; (33) gods of wood and stone; (34) chain and stake; (36) polemic dust; (37) broken staves; (38) a grateful isle; (39) heaviest soil, trusty staff, spicy shores of Araby the blest; (40) right courses; (41) tottering throne; (42) subterraneous treason; (43) ruin shed from the mountain; (44) wilderness; (45) prison, the ensanguined chariot; (46) mercy cast off to the mountains.

Part 3

(2) The prostrate restored; (4) the sole temple of the inward mind; (6) wild coast; (7) Alpine vale, Scottish mountain and moor and street; (8) city streets; (10) scaffold; (11) pulpit; (12) living landscapes, dark steepes; (13) sheltering nook; (14) wilds, distant shore; (17) fountains in sandy

desert; (19) mountains hoary; (23) hill and dale; (31) grave, where is thy victory? (32) the still church-yard; (33) gay church; (34) rime melted on hill and plain, sublime towers dropped; (35) monastic domes fallen; (36) sacred roofs are shattered, fugitives seek the British strand; (37) the deliverer sails landward; (38) Egyptian plain; (39) grateful earth; (40) low pile, Cross; (41) forest glade, dust to dust; (42) sovereign hill, everlasting piles; (43) lofty pillars; (45) no perishable home; (46) roseate hues on Alpine mount, nether regions, rugged frame; (47) the eternal city.

Clouds, storms, waters

Part 1

(1) Source of a Holy river; (2) sacred well, fountain, nascent stream, precious current; (3) Menai's foam, diluvian truths; (4) God the one sole fount; (5) the growing rill; (6) lightning; (7) cessation of storm; (8) polar ice; (9) Pictish cloud; (10) stormy field; (11) tears flow like fountains; (12) melancholy stream; (13) Tiber's stream; (14) tempestuous sea of ignorance; (16) wintry tempest; (17) fresh streams; (22) bustling brook, translucent pool; (23) beating billows; (24) timely rains; (25) classic lore glides on; (27) black tempests, dewy gloom; (29) clouds of Danish invasion; (30) the smooth flood, the barge; (31) Thames to Tyne; (33) profaneness flows from the source of Christian piety; (34) the current of Turkish arms; (35) midland brine; (37) ocean roars a vain appeal; (39) papal thunder.

Part 2

(2) Papal thunder; (7) turbid stream; (8) furled sails, tardy oars; (11) Rhone; (12) brooding mists, eternal snows; (13) rivers, marshes, Po; (14) over limitary floods; (15) wondering seas; (16) storm abated; (17) brook, Avon, Severn, sea, ocean; (22) Iris' cloudy shrine, watery glories on the stormy brine; (23) polar ice and open sea; (25) foam on central ocean; (27) Tiber, Ganges, Nile, spectral lakes; (28) Limbo lake;

(32) tears of man; (33) prayer in blind channels; (36) showers of blood, veteran thunders, fulminations new; (38) alien storms, home-bred ferments, black clouds; (39) buoyant bark, wave to wave; (40) steering between extremes; (41) every wave threatens the new-born Church; (42) thunder-shower of blood; (43) crown of snow, fretting waters, mad flood; (44) the flood; (46) Siloa's brook, the chambers of the deep.

Part 3

(1) Sunny mist; (3) gulf of bigotry; (6) tempests; (8) the busy Thames; (9) calm undercurrent from sea to sea, ploughing storm; (11) quiet flow of truths; (12) the swift stream slackens; (15) stream of patient energy; (16) gulf profound; (17) fair ships on the deep; (19) sea; (20) timely shower; (30) storm-shattered vessel; (33) Christmas snows; (34) frosty rime; (36) moral tempest; (37) sunny bay; (38) Nile, flood of sacred truth; (39) dewy eve; (40) Alpine vapors; (41) ebb and flow; (42) Isis and Cam; (45) bubbles, foam; (46) ocean; (47) the living waters brighten as they roll.

Flora and fauna

Part 1

(1) Pastoral flowers, laurels, amaranth, palms; (3) sea-mew and cormorant; (4) thick woods; (6) flowery platform; (7) birds; (8) crown of thorns; (9) roots of heresy; (10) Cambrian wood and moss; (15) eagle's beak; (16) sparrow; (17) oblivious weeds; (19) winter trees, divine fruit; (21) ivy and elm; (22) sylvan arches, yellow leaves, beechen bowl, maple dish, hooting owl, crested fowl; (23) grove or flowery mead; (24) congregated bees; (25) seeds of life; (27) sincere root, branches bold, oak, fostered hyacinths; (28) Benedictine coop; (32) wasted fields; (35) courage leonine.

Part 2

(1) Heaven-born flowers, worldly weeds; (2) brute rapine; (3) aery harvests; (4) steer or hound, rooted trees; (7) flowers of chivalry, wreaths that shall not fail, lamb and lion, eagle and dove; (9) pinions of higher sweep; (10) the tree bearing celestial fruit, blighted branches, withered shoots; (11) reeds; (12) herbs and chestnuts; (13) reedy fens; (14) the lark; (15) leopard, lily; (18) pompous horses; (20) the sprightly juice; (21) gadding bramble, purple fruit, wren, lizard, newt, owl of evening, woodland fox; (24) dragons; (25) fancied roses; (27) forest; (28) green and yellow leaves, goodly fruitage, mother-spray; (29) shepherd; (37) escaping birds, poisonous weeds; (44) ancient pine-trees; (45) bird in snare; (46) wood and waste.

Part 3

(1) Darksome tree; (2) springtime renewed; (3) Circean revels; (5) glow-worms; (7) wood; (13) woods; (15) seed of Christian unity, wide-spreading family; (16) wolves and sheep; (17) palm-groves; (20) Nature's bed of weeds, Christian flowers; (21) adopted plant, everlasting bloom; (22) vernal posy, distant bee; (24) summer-leaf; (25) gloomiest shade; (29) timely fruit; (31) withered grass; (32) garland gay; (33) linnet, thrush, fresh holly; (34) crown of weeds; (39) virgin sod, mystic Dove, hawthorns, oaks, daisies; (40) pine-tree, green moss; (41) native turf, rugged colts, wild deer; (43) branching roof; (45) wreath of wisdom; (47) coiled snake.

Sky, winds, sun, moon, stars, etc.

Part 1

(4) Stars; (5) darkness; (6) ethereal storehouses; (7) blue ether; (9) fiery brand, high Heaven; (10) sunny light; (11) pagan night; (14) morning fair; (16) blazing fire; (18) darkness, midnight stars, noonday blaze; (19) the common air; (22) soft heaven; (24) needful sunshine; (26) starry ether,

day's cheer, night's awe; (28) supernatural world; (29) full-orbed moon, ethereal sky; (31) stars and tapers shine, lamps and fires are quenched; (32) Heaven; (35) giddy heights; (36) papal shadow; (37) sky's fantastic element; (39) viewless wind.

Part 2

(2) Error's darkest hour; (5) astronomer, starry throng; (7) heartfelt fragrance on the gale; (10) light of Heaven's promises; (11) tapers, incense, soft breeze; (12) God's good winter; (13) glorious lights of martyrdom; (14) solitary spark, sacred fire; (15) no sullen fire, the fanning breeze; (17) Voice walking on the wind; (20) blazing fire; (21) quenched tapers; (22) celestial blushes, summer suns, sober light; (23) propitious winds; (24) radiant shapes, sweet gales; (25) eastern skies at daybreak; (26) fire; (27) ghostly tenants of the wind; (28) hurricane, airy bonds; (31) genuine morning-star, papal darkness; (34) torch of inextinguishable light; (35) ghastly ruins of the fire; (36) fields of light; (38) glorious light of Elizabeth's silver car; (39) gales from field and bower; (42) dismal night; (44) gentle skies; (45) celestial air; (46) the firmament.

Part 3

(2) Earliest beam of light; (4) secrets from above the starry sphere, pure spirit of celestial light; (5) lonely tapers, lucid ring, satellites, stars on high, fairest sky; (8) a voice shatters the air; (9) sun; (10) star of liberty; (12) horizon line; (13) galaxy that knows no end; (15) apostolic light; (17) star dependent upon star; (19) zodiac; (23) sunset; (24) star-crowned Muse; (25) path of light; (32) sky red with evening lights; (33) fiery blights; (34) silent air; (37) soft and happy gale; (38) Sabbath bells on the breeze; (40) sun and fresh air; (41) morn and even; (42) the world above; (43) light and shade; (44) coming night; (45) sky-like dome, silent Cross among the stars; (46) purpureal flame, sun; (47) noontide.

This analysis justifies a few inferences:

First. The *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* are richly endowed with natural imagery.

Secondly. This imagery is not used for its own sake, but to emphasize the structure of the poem, and to recall associations proper to the theme.

Thirdly. The arrangement of the imagery in each case accords with the advance of the plot.

Fourthly. The imagery constitutes a four-fold decoration, the conventionalized phenomena of the earth, the waters, flora and fauna, the heavens.

Fifthly. Although it is possible to trace these separately, they are interwoven with great skill and in a very just proportion.

Sixthly. The associations of the individual elements of the decoration seem to be distinct:

Earth: The mere frame or basis of material life; to which all things resort; out of which all things come.

The waters: The mobile, incalculable influence of divine grace upon human life; as such, the characteristic phenomena of spiritual history.

Flora and fauna: The results of the influence of divine grace in human life; definite but transient.

The heavens: The pattern of the divine toward which human life is prompted from below and urged from above; not calculable, but permanent.

Were books alone to be considered, Wordsworth's familiar knowledge of the Bible and his intimacy with Virgil, Horace, Lucretius, and Catullus¹ would account for the skill with which he handles natural imagery as a subordinate element in the design. He was scarcely insensible of the artistic range of 'pater aether' and 'Venus genetrix' as the classic poets had conceived them.² And the whole course of his thought recalls the Hebrew conception of nature in the Psalms. His indebtedness to Latin, Biblical, and English literary tradition, however, will be elsewhere retailed.

¹ *Letters* 2.179.

² Cf. Cook, *Chaucerian Papers* I. 1-21, in *Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, Nov., 1919.

But the mountains and streams of Westmoreland are not less concerned in his decorative imagery than in his structural design. For what the latter owed to the *Description of the Scenery of the English Lakes*, the former owes to *The River Duddon*. Nor would it be wise to discount the gain in craftsmanship made in the writing of either of these antecedent works.

Turning to Wordsworth's note on *The River Duddon*, then, we find a further definition of his purpose, and an acknowledgment of his debt to Coleridge and to Burns which enables us to connect both of his great contemporaries with the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. Wordsworth says:

'In this manner I had proceeded insensibly, without perceiving that I was trespassing upon ground preoccupied, at least as far as intention went, by Mr. Coleridge; who, more than twenty years ago, used to speak of writing a rural poem, to be entitled "The Brook," of which he has given a sketch in a recent publication.¹ . . . May I not venture, then, to hope that, instead of being a hindrance by any anticipation of any part of the subject, these sonnets may remind Mr. Coleridge of his own more comprehensive design, and induce him to fulfil it?—There is a sympathy in streams,—"one calleth to another"; and I would gladly believe that "The Brook" will ere long murmur in concert with "The Duddon." . . . The power of waters over the minds of poets has been acknowledged from the earliest ages; through the "Flumina amem sylvasque inglorius" of Virgil, down to the sublime apostrophe to the great rivers of the earth by Armstrong, and the simple ejaculation of Burns (chosen, if I recollect right, by Mr. Coleridge as a motto for his embryo "Brook"):

The Muse nae Poet ever fand her,
Till by himsel' he learned to wander,
Adown some trotting burn's meander,
AND NA' THINK LANG.'²

If there be a 'sympathy in streams—"one calleth to another,"' and if the trotting burn and *The Brook* called to *The River Duddon*, may not *The River Duddon* have called to 'the holy river'?

¹ Cf. *Biographia Literaria*, ed. by Shawcross, I.129.

² P. W., Oxford ed., p. 908.

MANUSCRIPT F

[Bracketed numbers indicate the successive pages of the manuscript. Words deleted in the original are printed in pointed brackets. The first sheet, unnumbered, bears the general title 'Ecclesiastical Sonnets.']

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[1]

I PART I

I who descended with glad step to chace
Cerulean Duddon from his cloud fed spring

dared
And of my wild companions (strove) to sing
In verse that moved with strictly measured pace

essayed the nobler stream to trace
I who (confiding till all sober trace)

Liberty and smote the plausible string
Of faith was lost to millions, smote the string

the checked torrent fiercely
Till (Freedom like a torrent) combating
In victory found her natural resting place
Now seek on Times sequestered height the source
Of a great river on whose banks are found

Sweet

Both pastoral flowers & laurels that have crowned

Full oft the unworthy brow of lawless force
And for delight of him who tracks its course

(Bright wreaths of Amaranth and palms (are found))
abound

Immortal amaranth and palms abound.

In Miss Wordsworth's hand writing.

[2]

II PART I

If there be Prophets on whose spirit rest
Past things revealed like future let them tell
How the prime gushings of that sacred well
Rose to refresh the Islands barren breast

through
Did holy Paul a wandered [?r] in the west
As some have taught awhile in Britain dwell
And call the fountain forth by miracle
And with dread signs the nascent stream invest
Or He whose chains dropped off whose prison doors
Flew open by an angels voice unbarred?

lower
Or some of humbler name to these wild shores
Storm-driven; who having seen that cup of woe
Pass from their master, sojourned here to guard
The precious current they had taught to flow.

See p. 3.

[3]

II PART I

Where lies the ground on Albion that was blest
 With the first gushings of that sacred well

flood

What song of Bard, O Mighty stream, can tell
 Thy origin attest

through

Did holy Paul a wanderer in the west
 As some have taught awhile in Britain dwell
 And called thy fountain forth by miracle
 And with dread signs thy nascent stream invest
 Darkness surrounds us, seeking we are lost
 Mid shade unpierceable of Druid groves
 Shades that enwrap the majesty unknown
 Of Temples—still preserved in mountain coves
 Entire, and seeming perfect as the moon

begins

Before her wane [?] on heavens blue coast

See page 2.

[4]

V. PART I

Yes if the patriot sons of England turn

a proud

With votive step to grassy Runnymede
 If Scotia's children tremble while they tread
 Panting for chains to break, for foes to spurn
 The flowery brink of slender Bannockburn
 Shall sympathy be wanting while I plead
 For hidden evidence of place and deed
<or>

And oer the silent waste of ages mourn.
 Darkness surrounds us, seeking we are lost
 Mid shade unpierceable of Druid groves
 Shades that enwrapped the Majesty unknown
 Of pristine temples yet mid mountain coves
 Preserved, or traceable in masses strewn
 Like wrecks far flung upon a lonely coast.

VI PART I

[5]

Lament, for Dioclesian's fiery sword
 Works busy as the lightening but instinct
 With malice ne'er to deadliest weapon linked
 Which Gods ethereal storehouses afford:
 Against the followers of the incarnate Lord
 It rages; some are smitten in the field
 Some are pierced beneath the unavailing shield
 Of sacred home; with pomp are others gored
 And dreadful respite. Thus was Alban tried
 England's first martyr—whom
 (Whose magnanimity) no threats could shake
 Self offered victim for his friend he died
 And for the faith, nor shall his name forsake
 That hill whose flowery platform seems to rise
 By nature decked for holiest sacrifice.

Partly in [?] Mrs. Wordsworth's hand writing.

[6]

ITINERARY SONNETS, CONTINENT 1820

XIII

When we behold this Alpine torrent throwing
 His giant body from the steep rocks brink
 Back in astonishment and fear we shrink
 But high and low a calmer look bestowing
 Flowers we descry beside the torrent growing
 Flowers that peep forth from many a cleft & chink
 And from the whirlwind of her anger drink
 Hues ever fresh in rocky fortress blowing
 They suck from breath that threatening to destroy
 Is more benignant than the dewy eve
 Beauty and life and motions as of joy:
 Nor doubt that He to whom yon pine trees nod
 Their heads in sign of worship, Nature's God
 These humbler adorations will receive.

In [?] Mrs. Wordsworth's hand writing.

[7]

XVI PART I

The life of man may be compared, O King
 Even to a sparrow one that while you sit
 Housed with your Friends hath entered & doth flit
 Beneath your warm roof's happy covering
 Then forth in all mens sight on hasty wing
 It flies and passes on from cold to cold
 But whence it came we know nor behold
 Whither it goes. Even such a transient thing
 Our human soul; not utterly unknown
 While in the body lodged its warm abode;
 But from what world it came, what woe or weal
 On its departure waits, no tongue hath shewn;
 This mystery if the Preacher can reveal
 His be a welcome joyfully bestowed.

See p. 8.

[8]

XVI. PART I

Mans life is like a sparrow, Mighty King
 That entereth and departeth as you sit
 Housed with your Friends. In truth 'tis seen to flit
 Well sheltered and in comfort tarrying
 For a brief while, then forth on hasty wing
 She flies and passes on from cold to cold
 But whence she [?came] we know nor behold
 Whither she goes—Even such that transient thing
 The human Soul, not utterly unknown
 While in the body lodged its warm abode
 But from what world it came, what woe or weal
 Its future course attends, no tongue hath shewn;

stranger

This mystery if the <stranger> teacher can reveal,
 His be a welcome cordially bestowed.

See page 7.

[9]

XXVIII PART II

Grant that by this unsparing hurricane
 Green leaves with yellow mixed were rent away
 And goodly fruitage with the mother spray
 Twere madness, wished we therefore to detain

sighs

With farewell grief of mollified disdain
 The "trumpery" that ascends in bare display
 Bulls pardons relics cows black white & grey
 Upwhirled and flying oer the ethereal plain
 Fast bound for Limbo Lake. Rejoice, be glad
 That the devices which have ministered
 To the green Islands shame at length have flown
 But that high power fate suddenly transferred
 (To enforce that might make a wise King) sad
 Might make the ruler

Both for her peoples sake and for her own

such

But that high power full rightfully transferred
 What wonder if the crown assumes a voice
 Of reckless mastery hitherto unknown

[10]

XV PART II

Illustrious King
 (Is there a flower) in garden or in field
 What flower so beauteous as
 (That boasts the beauty of) the crimson rose
 Fair in herself—and when beside her blows
 The towering lilly lacks the power to yield

mix

Fairer she seems—to (blend) them on thy shield
 <may>

Wrest the proud lilly from usurping foes
 Haste to their shores nor let them feel repose
 If there be sword to grasp or axe to wield
 Till Heaven has crowned the right. The wily Sire
 Thus spake, and Lo! a fleet to Gaul addressed
 Ploughs its bold course, across the wondering seas
 For sooth to say ambition in the breast
 Of youthful Heroes is no sullen fire
 But one that leaps to meet the fanning breeze.

And seeming at a little distance, slow
The waters of the Rhine, but on they go,
Fretting & whitening keener and more keen,

Till madness seizes on the whole wide flood
And down the precipice its nostril breathes
Blasts of tempestuous smoke, wherewith it tries
To hide itself, and doth but aggrandize (?)
To earth to heaven, above and underneath
Roaring like ocean or a mighty wood

Turned to a fearful thing whose nostrils breathe
Blasts of tempestuous smoke wherewith it tries
To hide <itself> himself but only magnifies.
To earth to heaven above and underneath

Roaring like ocean or some mighty wood.
Roaring like storms at war with some huge (vast) wood
Roaring with voice no [?] extinguished

And doth in more conspicuous torment writhe

In [?] Mr. Wordsworth hand writing.

XLIV. PART II

[13]

Such contrast in whatever track we move
To the mind's eye Religion doth present
Now like the mountain with still peace content
And in a moment thundering from above
Against the ancient cedars of grove

And the Lands ^{humblest} <humblest> comforts—Now her mood

temper of a headland
Recals the (transformation of the) flood

Whose sudden rage the
(Whose rage the gentle) heavens in vain reprove

Earth can not check. Fury in (Of fury) such access

XXXIX PT. II

[15]

Methinks that I could trip o'er heaviest soil
 <[?]vastest>
 Light as a buoyant bark from wave to wave
 trusty
 Were mine the precious staff that Jewel gave
 To youthful Hooker in familiar style
 His gift exalting, and with playful smile
 And who a farewell blessing meek and grave
 And thus accomplished who could fear to brave
 Tempests or weight of way, or length of toil.
 More sweet those odours caught by him who sails
 Near spicy shores of Araby the blest
 Detained—a thousand times more touching sweet
 freight feeling
 That breath of holy rapture which we meet
 In thoughtful moments wafted by the gales
 Of history from the tombs where good men rest.

· See page 16.

XXXIX PT. II

[167]

Methinks that I could trip o'er heaviest soil
 Light as a <boy> buoyant bark from wave to wave
 Were mine the trusty staff that Jewel gave
 To youthful Hooker in familiar style
 The gift exalting and with playful smile
 A farewell blessing crowned the travellers head
 (Then did a farewell blessing crown his head
 And in this sort accomplished who could dread
 And thus accomplished could the traveller dread)
 Tempest or length of way or weight of toil
 More sweet than odours caught by him who sails
 Along the
 (Near spicy) shores of Araby the blest
 A thousand times more exquisitely sweet
 (Detained a thousand times more touching sweet)
 The freight of holy feeling which we meet
 In thoughtful moments wafted by the gales
 Of history from the tombs where good men rest

See page 15.

Accomplished thus and bearing on his head
A farewell blessing could the traveller dread

[17]

XII PART III

In Index = "Down a swift Stream"

The confidence of youth our only art
 And hope gay Pilot of the bold design
 We saw the living landscape of the Rhine
 Reach after reach salute us and depart
 Slow sink the spires and up again they start
 And who shall count the towers as they recline
 Oer the dark steeps, or on the horizon line
 With shattered crests standing the eye athwart
 Stand with their shattered crest the eye athwart
 In awful silence. Yet more deep the pleasure
 And yet more deep more perfect was the pleasure

(rapid)

When hurried forward till the slackening stream
 [?]

Spread like an ample mere
 Was spread into a lake we then could measure

A [?] more

(A tranquil course) along the watery gleam
 <dull>

Though dull I now regret, that such calm leisure
 Such solemn peace (await our?) future theme.

[18]

ITINERARY SONNET CONTINENT 1820

XXXIV

Yet all is harmless—as the Elysian shades
 Where spirits dwell in undisturbed repose—
 Silently disappears or quickly fades
 As if produced in mockery of the shows

hourly

That for oblivion take their <hasty> birth
 From the disorders of the wanton earth.

Upon a River I have long been pent

ween

And captive holden betwixt shore and shore
 In shallows oft detained, by joys oershaded
 Mount fancy mount! These wonders to explore
 But quickly some dissolved and others faded
 And with my portion I was well content

See page 19 30.

[19]

CONTINENT 1820

XXXIV

splendid
 Lo! in the burning west the craggy nape
 Of a proud Ararat and thereupon
 The ark her melancholy voyage done
 Yon rampant cloud mimics a lions shape
 There combats a huge
 (See there a monstrous) crocodile—agape
 A golden spear to swallow! and that brown
 And massy grove, so near yon blazing town
 Stirs—and recedes—destruction to escape!
 Mimics of fancy long my heart has beat
 The servile map of history to explore
 By these wild feats such labour is upbraided
 Mine eyes were turned away; but when once more
 They looked so much had disappeared or faded
 That with my portion I was well content
 Sighing I turned away but when once more
 I looked so much /

See pages 18–30.

[20]

XXXVIII [XXXVII] PART I

And verily, as we our course pursue
 The gross materials of this world present
 A marvelous study of wild
 (A pageantry of marvellous) accident
 Uncouth proximities of old and new
 And bold transfigurations more untrue
 As might be deemed to disciplined intent
 Than aught the skys fantastic element
 When most fantastic offers to the view
 <our>

scourged

[?Lo] royal shoulders bare at Becket's shrine
 To penal stripes; Lo John puts off his crown,
 To be—with sceptre mantle ring—laid down
 At a proud Legates feet. The spears that line
 Baronial halls the opprobrious treason feel
 And angry ocean roars a vain appeal.
 John self dispoiled of his insignia; crown
 Sceptre and mantle, sword and ring laid down

[23]

XXXVIII PART I

A Scene

About the same period

In the church of St. Mark Venice

[illegible]

See page 32.

[24]

XVIII PART III

A cleanly fire a hospitable board
And a refined rusticity belong
(These fancy shews as adjuncts that belong)
To the neat mansion where his flock among
The happy pastor dwells their watchful Lord
Though meek and patient as a sheathed sword
thought
Though Pride's least lurking \wedge appear a wrong
To human kind; though peace be on his tongue
Gentleness in his heart
And gentleness there dwell, can earth afford
Such genuine state, pre-eminence so free
As when equipped with Christ's authority
He from the pulpit lifts his awful hand
Conjures implores and labours all he can
For re-subjecting to divine command
The stubborn spirit of rebellious man.

MISCELLANEOUS SONNETS PART II

[25]

IX

And must we having left behind the swell
 Of war and conflict and the wrecks of change
 And duty struggling with afflictions strange
 Henceforth to silence doom the chorded shell
 Unworthy thought where peace and concord dwell
 There also is the Muse not loth to range

chimney

She loves the blue smoke from the elmy grange
 Skyward ascending from the twilight dell
 Mute aspirations soothe her lone endeavour
 And sage content and quiet melancholy
 Her eyes delight to brood upon a river
 Diaphanous because it [?] travels slowly
 Soft is the music that would please forever
 The flower of sweetest smell is shy and lowly.

III PART III

[26]

See royal Charles with frantic joy carest
 From exile lands his Kingdom to regain
 Him virtue's nurse <ry>, adversity, in vain
 Received and fostered in her iron breast
 For all she taught of hardest and of best
 Or would have taught by discipline of pain
 And long privation now dissolved amain
 Or is remembered only to give zest
 To wantonness—away Circean revels

the people

Already stands our country on the brink
 Of bigot rage that all distinction levels
 Of truth and falsehood, swallowing her good name
 And with that draught the life blood, misery, shame
 By poets loathed, from which historians shrink.

Who comes with rapture greeted and carest
 With boundless love his kingdom to regain.

XXXVII PART II

[27]

Scattered like birds escaped the murderers net
alien
(Some fly for safety to a <foreign>) strand
Some seek with timely flight a foreign
Most happy re-assembled in the land
(Of safety, might they could the[y] ere forget)
Of Luther could they Englands woes forget
Their country woes. But scarcely have they met
Alas the fugitives have scarcely met
Partners in faith and brothers in distress
Free to pour forth their common thankfulness
In worship, when their union is beset
With prurient speculations rashly sown
(thickly)

Whence
<When> a thickly sprouting growth of jarring creeds;
(Whence an unhallowed)
Their truths are broken staves, their passions steeds
That master them; they split—in vain—how blest
Is he who may by help of grace, enthrone
The peace of God within his single breast

[28]

Who comes with rapture greeted and carest
With boundless love his kingdom to regain?
Him virtues nurse, adversity, in vain
Received and nurtured in her iron breast
Whateer she taught of hardiest and of best

See p. 26.

I deplore
With filial grief the sad vicissitude
If she has fallen and pitying heaven restore
The prostrate, and my springtime is renewed
And sorrow bartered for exceeding joy

See Sonnet II part III.

In quest of Limbo Lake. And yet not choice
unreflecting
But habit rules the <unrelenting> herd
And airy bonds are habitual to disown
Hence with the spiritual sovereignty transferred
Unto itself the crown assumes a voice
Of reckless mastery hitherto unknown

See p. 9.

[29]

The spirit of Nassau
 By constant impulse of religious awe
 Swayed and thereby enabled to contend
 With the wide worlds commotions from its end
 Swerves not—diverted by a casual law

See Son: IX part III.

Stay the loved song and bid the harp farewell

[30]

CONTINENT 1820

XXXIV

See in the burning west the craggy nape
 Of a proud Ararat and thereupon
 The ark her melancholy voyage done

That rampant cloud ^{mimics} (assumes) a lions shape
 See there a monstrous
 (That other is a) crocodile agape

A
 Yon golden spear to swallow, and those brown

And ^{massy groves} (sullen clouds) ^{yon} so near that blazing town

Stirs and recedes
 (Are groves that now) destruction to escape

Mimics of Fancy! long my heart has beat
 The servile map of history to explore
 By these wild feats I feel myself upbraided

So mine eyes turned away, but ^{when} <then> once more
 They looked, so much had disappeared or faded.

See pages 18.19.

[31]

rampant cloud assumes a lion's shape
That cloud assumes a rampant lion's shape

See there a monstrous crocodile agape
A golden spear to swallow, and that brown

massy
And <that> grove so near yon blazing town
Stirs and recedes destruction to escape

See pages <30>

18. 19. 30.

[32]

XXXVIII PART I

Black Demons hovering o'er his mitred head
(When to the church the emperor was led

To Cesars successor
At Venice looking in) the Pontiff spake

Ere I absolve thee stoop that on thy neck
Levelled with earth this foot of mine may tread

Then he who to the altar had been led
(The mighty word was scarcely uttered

whose strong
When) He <arms> arms the orient could not check
He who had held the Soldan at his beck
Stooped of his glory disinherited
And even the common dignity of man
Humiliating sight when many turned

or
In Scorn <and> in amazement; and some burned
For counter interdict and vengeful ban
From outraged nature, but the sense of most
In abject sympathy with power was lost

See page 23.

[33]

XIX PART II [III]

Or if the intensities of hope and fear
 ((O seek we a way of hope and fear

Attract us still and passionate exercise
 High thoughts and passionate solemnities

Of lofty thoughts that
 Of faith and love <of> such) way before us lies

Distinct with in
 (Marked out by) signs through which (with) fixed career

As through a Zodiac moves the ritual year
 Of England's church—stupendous mysteries;
 Which whoso travels in her bosom eyes
 As he approaches them with solemn cheer
 Enough for us to cast a transient glance

<The circle through> giving up
 Through the dread circle (and to leave) its story

For those whom Heaven has fitted to advance

chaunt
 With harp in hand and sing the King of glory
 From his meek advent till his countenance

dissipate the
 Shall (make a wreck of) sun and mountains hoary

The circle through relinquishing its story
 For

<See pages 37 38. 55>

[34]

And thus a structure potent to enchain
 The eye of wonder rose in this fair Isle
 Not built with calculations nice and vain
 But in mysterious nature's boldest style
 Not orderly as some basaltic pile
 That steadfastly repels the fretful main.

See Sonnet XXIV, part I.

[35]

XXXIV PART I

The order of the Druids

Much are they blamed who with mightiest lever
Known to the moral world, Imagination
Uplifted Christendom from her natural station
They sweep along such host till now was never

To rescue from

Arrayed in march to tear from the Deceiver

The precious tomb their haven of salvation

They sweep along enormous inundation

But sooth this war though mixed by selfish passion

Whose no human

With base allo[ʔy] (what thence no) skill can sever

Even as a sharp pike in a bucklers boss

Makes an efficient portion of the shield

Which Providence doth wield

For the great purpose mainly to defend

Kingdoms and states whose hope is in the cross

See page 39.

[36]

XLII PART II

GUNPOWDER PLOT

Fear hath a hundred eyes that all agree
To plague her beating heart, and there is one
(Nor idlest that) which holds communion

With things that were not yet meant to be
The purposes of baffled destiny

which views

That eye beholds as if fulfilled & done

Crimes that might stop the motions of the sun

I shuddering

That eye in vision is compelled to see

England's assembled Senate unredeemed

From subterranean treasons darkling power

Of that catastrophe accomplished—sight

Worse than the product of that dismal night

When with the bounty of a thunder shower

The blood of Huguenots through Paris streamed.

[37]

XIV PART II

undaunted soaring
 You who upsoaring like the early lark
 Announcing at day break to his drowsy mate
 You rather ran the dawn to antedate
 By striking out a solitary spark
 When all the world with midnight gloom was dark
 You whom the sword of unrelenting hate
 In vain had laboured to exterminate
 Cerberian mouths pursued with hideous bark
 But meagre [?maugre] such fell spite the sacred fire
 From Alpine heights and dens & savage woods
 Passed handed on with never ceasing care
 Through camps and courts and limitary floods
 Nor lacks this sea-girt Isle a welcome share
 Of the pure gift not suffered to expire
 See pages <33.> 38. 55.

[38]

XIV PART II

They who gave earliest notice as the lark
 Springs from the ground the morn to gratulate
 Or rather rose the day to antedate
 By striking out a solitary spark
 When all the world with midnight gloom was dark
 (Yet) these (prompt) harbingers of good, whom bitter hate
 In vain hath laboured to exterminate
 Fell obloquy would brand with hideous mark
 *Dwellers with wolves she named them, for the pine
 And green oak are their covert; as the gloom
 Of night oft foils their enemies design,
 She calls them Riders on the flying broom
 Sorcerers whose frames and aspects have become
 One and the same through practices malign

See pages <33.> 37. 55

* See the note on this sonnet for these six lines.

[39]

XXXIV PART I

Much are they blamed
I scorn them not who with a sovereign lever
Acting upon the heart—Imagination
Uplifted Christendom from her natural station
They sweep along (such host till now was never
tear
Arrayed in march) to rend from the Deceiver
The precious tomb their haven of salvation.

A meaner application
But sooth this war was mixed by selfish passion
With base allo[ʔy] which no skill may sever
As a sharp pike set on a bucklers boss
Makes an efficient portion of the mighty shield

blend

Powers of annoyance, Providence doth wield
For this great purpose namely to defend
Kingdoms and states whose hope is in the cross.

See page 35.

[40]

VII PART I

As when a storm is past the Birds regain
Their cheerfulness and busily retrim
Their nests or chant a gratulating hymn

bespangled

To the blue ether and the glistening plain
So the survivors of *that* storm again
Amid their reconstructed churches, kept
The holy sacraments which long had slept
And solemn ceremonials did ordain
To celebrate their great deliverance
Most feelingly instructed as some fear
That persecution and the wrath extreme

Of blindness under Heavens ^{mild} <high> countenance
Even in their own despite, doth feed and cheer
For all things are less dreadful than they seem.

[41]

ITINERARY SONNET CONTINENT 1820

XIII

Then when we see River
 When we behold an Alpine torrent throwing
 His giants body from a steep rocks brink
 Back in astonishment and fear we shrink
 But high and low a calmer look bestowing
 beside the torrent
 We see flowers (on flowers in clusters) growing
 Flowers that peep forth from many a cleft & chink
 And from the whirlwind of her anger drink
 Hues ever fresh while to their fellows blowing
 In safer regions nature cannot give
 Freshness and life and motions as of joy
 fearful brink
 Sucked from the perils self, nor doubt that God
 To whom these pines in signs of worship nod
 Their heads while storms are busy to destroy
 signs of worship
 These humbler (adorations) will receive
 To whom above the lofty pine trees nod
 Their heads while storms are busy to destroy

[42]

XXXVI PART II

We looking calmly from a specular height
 Know that a righteous Providence
 The adverse combatants the struggle
 Alas for those who mingling in the fight
 Saw ranged upon the better side despite
 Rapacity and cruelty and lust
 Mid clouds enveloped of polemic dust
 Which showers of blood seemed rather to incite
 to allay
 Than tranquillize—Anathemas are hurled
 From host to host, old thunders from the west
 Are boldly met by fulminations new
 the flag of is unfurled
 Who without war way pursue
 Standards are abjured are caught at & unfurled
 Friends strike at friends—the flying shall pursue
 And victory sickening ignorant where to rest.

[43]

XXXVIII PART II

Hail Virgin Queen more welcome than the star
 Of dawn to the traveller faint with toil
 Hail sovereign Lady whom a thankful Isle
 Shall bless respiring from that dismal war
 Stilled by thy voice. But quickly from afar
 The adversary makes a fierce recoil
 Tempests with which the mischief of the soil
 Dreadful alliance claims. Her royal car
 Meanwhile by prudence swayed glides safely on
 In silver purity from menaced taint

Cynthia of the stormy night
 Emerging like the radiant queen of night
 For where she moves the stormy clouds are gone
 Disperse or
 Or tarrying under a divine constraint
 Reflect some portion of her glorious light.

See page 44.

[44]

XXXVIII PART II

Hail, Virgin Queen! o'er many an envious bar
 Triumphant snatched from many a treacherous wile!
 All hail sage Lady whom a thankful Isle
 Hath blessed respiring from that dismal war
 Stilled by thy voice. But quickly from afar
 Defiance breathes with more malignant aim,
 And alien storms with home-bred ferments claim
 Portentous fellowship. Her silver car

smoothly
 Meanwhile by prudence ruled glides safely on
 Unhurt by violence, from menaced taint
 Emerging, [? like] the radiant power of night
 For [? where] she moves the gloomy clouds anon
 Disperse, or under a divine constraint
 Reflect some portion of her glorious light.

See page 43.

[45]

XL PART II

Holy and heavenly spirits that they were
 Spotless in life and eloquent as wise
 With what entire affection did they prize
 { That church and reverence her with filial care
 { The newborn church labouring with filial care
 { Labouring incessantly with filial care
 To baffle all that might her strength impair
 That church, the unperverted Gospel's seat;
 In their afflictions a divine retreat;
 Source of their liveliest hope and tenderest prayer.
 The truth exploring with an equal mind
 In polity and discipline they sought
 Firmly between the two extremes to steer

lot

But theirs the wise mans ordinary <toil>
 To trace right courses for the stubborn blind
 And prophesy to ears that will not hear.

[46]

TRANSFERRED TO ITINERARY <SONNETS> 1833

XLIII

awe

A weight of <woe> not easily to be borne
 Fell suddenly upon my spirit cast
 From the dread bosom of the unknown past
 When I beheld this sisterhood forlorn
 And Her sole standing amid yellow corn
 In fearless height preeminent and placed
 As if to overlook the circle vast.

morn

Speak giant mother, tell it to the <morn>
 While she dispels the cumbrous shade of night

a

Let the moon hear, emerging from <the> cloud

resolved

The truths disclosed the mystery unbound
 When how and wherefore rose this wondrous Round
 Forth shadowing some have deemed to mortal sight
 The inviolable God that tames the proud

See page 47.

[47]

awe

A weight of <woe> not easily to be borne

(Hath sometimes fallen on my bosom cast
Or to be shaken of is)

And loth to be removed is sometimes cast

Upon my bosom from the unknown past
When I beheld that sisterhood forlorn
With Her sole standing amid yellow corn
In fearless height preeminent and placed
As if to overlook the circle vast
Speak giant mother to the dawning morn!
Let the moon hear emerging from <the> a cloud
The truth disclosed to guide our steps aright
Or be at least the mystery unbound
When, how, and wherefore rose thy wondrous Round
Forth-shadowing (some have deemed) to mortal sight
The inviolable God that tames the proud

See page 46.

[48]

IV PART I

Yes! whether earth received that cumbrous load
For midnight pomp of sacrificial fire
For social exercises of harp and lyre
Or Rites prelusive to a crown bestowed
This claims at least our reverence that to God
Antient of days to thee eternal Sire
Did Priest and Lawgiver and Bard aspire
As to the one sole fount whence wisdom flowed
Wisdom and Justice—Tremblingly escaped
As if with prescience of the coming storm
That intimation when the stars were shaped
Or perished utterly the primal truth
Till man had fallen to mingle with the worm
And heaven was filled with unavailing ruth

[49]

XXXV PART III

I thought of Luxury and greedy sway
And pride deserving chastisement severe,
But stillness, ruin, beauty, all things here
Dispose to judgments temperate as we lay
On our past selves in lifes declining day
For as by discipline of time made wise
We learn to tolerate the infirmities
And faults of others, gently as he may
Towards our own the mild Instructor deals
Teaching us to forget them or forgive.
Why then be curious here for hidden ill
Perversely breaking charitable seals?
The spot was holy once, is holy still
Its spirit freely let me drink and live.

<See page 50>

[50]

XXXV PART II

Here flame ward stretching his upbraided hand
O God of mercy may no earthly seat
Of judgment such presumptuous doom repeat .
Here for the final test did Cranmer stand
Firm as the stake to which with iron band
His frame was tied, firm from the naked feet
To the bare head, the victory complete
His shrouded body to the souls command
Answering with more than Indian fortitude
Through all her nerves with finer sense endued
While him
<With> flames enshroud ^ and black smoke embowered
Till self reproach and parting aspiration
Were with the heart that held them all devoured
The spirit set free and crowned with blissful acclamation.

[51]

XLIH [XLIV] PART III

KINGS COLL. CHAPEL.

What awful perspective while from our sight
 Their portraitures the lateral windows hide
 Glimmers the corresponding stone work dyed
 With the soft chequerings of a sleepy light
 Martyr or king or sainted eremite

are

Whoe'er ye be that thus yourselves unseen
 Imbue your prison bars with solemn sheen

on until ye fade

Shine (till your lustre fades) with coming night
 But from the arms of silence list! oh list!

The music bursteth into second life
 And every stone throughout the Pile is kissed
 By the delicious notes in mazy strife

(The storm hath ceased the harmony is gone
 And now the sad sad heart is left alone)

(Where <to> now the thrilling harmony, tis gone
 And the lost notes of lively rapture flown)

(Of lively rapture or with softer flight
 Fondly relayed in mazes infinite)

That thrills the heart and casts before the eye
 Of the devout a veil of ecstasy!

[52]

MISCELLANEOUS PART IIII [III]

VII

Where holy ground begins—unhallowed ends
 Is marked by no distinguishable line
 The turf unites—the Pathways intertwine
 And wheresoe'er the stealing footstep tends
 Garden and that domain where Kindred Friends

confound

And neighbours rest together, here <confound>
 Their several features, mingled like the sound
 Of many waters, or as evening blends
 With shady night—soft airs from shrub and flower
 Waft fragrant greetings to each silent grave
 And ever as those lofty poplars wave
 Their parting summits open out a sky
 Bright as the glimpses of eternity
 To saints accorded in their mortal hour.

[53]

XLI PART III

The encircling ground in natural turf arrayed
 Is now by solemn consecration given
 To social interests and to favouring Heaven
 Hence forth where ragged Colts their gambols played
 And wild deer bounded through the forest glade
 Unchecked as erst by merry Outlaw driven
 Shall pious hymns resound at morn and even

full soon the lonely sextons spade
 And soon (the sexton shall apply his spade)

Shall wound
 Wounding the tender sod. Encincture small!

But infinite its grasp of joy and woe
 Hopes fears in never resting ebb and flow
 The spousal trembling—and the “dust to dust”
 The prayers—the contrite struggle and the trust
 That to the Almighty Father looks through all.

[54]

XXXIV PART III

to high
 From (high to) low doth dissolution climb
 And sinks from high to low along a scale

awful
 Of things (by laws) whose concord shall not fail;
 A musical but melancholy chime
 Which they can hear who meddle not with crime
 Nor avarice nor over anxious care.

Truth fades not, but the forms of thought
 (The pomps and vanities of earth) that bear

The longest date shall melt like frosty rime
 That in the morning whitened hill and plain
 And is no more, drop like the tower sublime
 Of yesterday, which royally did wear
 Its crown of weeds, but could not even sustain
 Some casual shout that broke the silent air
 Or the unimaginable touch of time

Truth wastes not

In [?] Mrs. Wordsworth handwriting.

[55]

XIV PART II

Who but is pleased to note the birds of spring
'Twere monstrous to dislike the birds of spring

And the green grass recovering on the lawn

Monstrous it were to loathe the birds of spring
Or the new moon or sparkling eye of dawn
And flowers forth peeping on the dewy lawn

Who scowls upon the sparkling eye of dawn
Or crescent moon as on a hated thing
Or give the sun a churlish welcoming

loathe

Yet Truth we hate through man the signs that bring
Our visual expectation worthier far

brightest

Though of more virtue than the morning star
That walks the sky—her presence gives a sting
To millions—But heaven guards the sacred fire
Which renovated thus, from savage wood [?s]
Through courts through camps, oer liminary floods
Nor lacked this sea-girt Isle a timely share
Of the new flame not suffered to expire.

See pages 37. 38.

ECCLESIASTICAL SONNETS

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¹ *Mem. Tour Cont.* 1820; first published with *Eccl. Sketches* in 1827.

² Between September 4, 1842, and March 27, 1843.

³ Knight (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.91): 'This sonnet was sent by Wordsworth in holograph MS. to Orton Hall . . . dated Dec. 7, 1827.'

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¹ A few days before September 4.

² Between September 4, 1842, and March 27, 1843.

[ADVERTISEMENT OF 1822]

During the month of December, 1820, I accompanied a much-loved¹ and honoured Friend in a walk through different parts of his Estate, with a view to fix upon the Site of a New Church which he intended to erect. It was one of the most beautiful mornings of a mild season—our feelings were in harmony with the cherishing influences of the scene; and such being our purpose, we were naturally led to look back upon past events with wonder and gratitude, and on the future with hope. Not long afterwards, some of the Sonnets which will be found towards the close of this Series were produced as a private memorial of that morning's occupation.

The Catholic Question, which was agitated in Parliament about that time, kept my thoughts in the same course; and it struck me that certain points in the Ecclesiastical History of our Country might advantageously be presented to view in Verse.² Accordingly, I took up the subject, and what I now offer to the Reader was the result.

When this work was far advanced, I was agreeably surprised to find that my Friend, Mr. Southey, was engaged³ with similar views in writing a concise History of the Church *in* England. If our Productions, thus unintentionally coinciding, shall be found to illustrate each other, it will prove a high gratification to me, which I am sure my Friend will participate.

W. WORDSWORTH.

RYDAL MOUNT,

January 24, 1822.

¹ In the text of 1850, 'much-beloved.'

² Cf. Fenwick note, 1843: 'My purpose in writing this series was, as much as possible, to confine my view to the introduction, progress, and operation of the Church in England, both previous and subsequent to the Reformation.'

³ In the text of 1850, 'had been engaged.'

[NOTE OF 1827]

For the convenience of passing from one point of the subject to another without shocks of abruptness, this work has taken the shape of a series of Sonnets; but the Reader, it is hoped,¹ will find that the pictures are often so closely connected as to have the effect of a poem² in a form of stanza to which there is no objection but one that bears upon the Poet only —its difficulty.

¹ In the text of 1850, 'it is to be hoped.'

² In the text of 1850, 'as to have jointly the effect of passages of a poem.'

TEXT OF 1850

A verse may catch a wandering Soul, that flies
Profounder Tracts, and by a blest surprise
Convert delight into a Sacrifice.

[Adapted from George Herbert's *The Temple: The
Church Porch*, stanza 1.]

PART I

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO BRITAIN TO
THE CONSUMMATION OF THE PAPAL DOMINION

I. I

INTRODUCTION

I, who accompanied with faithful pace
 Cerulean Duddon from its cloud-fed spring,
 And loved with spirit ruled by his to sing
 Of mountain-quiet and boon nature's grace;
 I, who essayed the nobler Stream to trace 5
 Of Liberty, and smote the plausible string
 Till the checked torrent, proudly triumphing,
 Won for herself a lasting resting-place;
 Now seek upon the heights of Time the source C
 Of a HOLY RIVER, on whose banks are found 10
 Sweet pastoral flowers, and laurels that have crowned
 Full oft the unworthy brow of lawless force;
 And, for delight of him who tracks its course, C
 Immortal amaranth and palms abound.

I. 2

CONJECTURES

If there be prophets on whose spirits rest
 Past things, revealed like future, they can tell
 What Powers, presiding o'er the sacred well
 Of Christian Faith, this savage Island blessed
 With its first bounty. Wandering through the west, 5
 Did holy Paul a while in Britain dwell,
 And call the Fountain forth by miracle,
 And with dread signs the nascent Stream invest?
 Or He, whose bonds dropped off, whose prison doors C
 Flew open, by an Angel's voice unbarred? 10
 Or some of humbler name, to these wild shores
 Storm-driven; who, having seen the cup of woe
 Pass from their Master, sojourned here to guard
 The precious Current they had taught to flow?

I.3

TREPIDATION OF THE DRUIDS

SCREAMS round the Arch-druid's brow the sea-mew—white
 As Menai's foam; and toward the mystic ring
 Where Augurs stand, the Future questioning,
 Slowly the cormorant aims her heavy flight,
 Portending ruin to each baleful rite, 5
 That, in the lapse of ages, hath crept o'er
 Diluvian truths, and patriarchal lore.
 Haughty the Bard: can these meek doctrines blight
 His transports? wither his heroic strains?
 But all shall be fulfilled;—the Julian spear 10
 A way first opened; and, with Roman chains,
 The tidings come of Jesus crucified;
 They come—they spread—the weak, the suffering, hear;
 Receive the faith, and in the hope abide.

I.4

DRUIDICAL EXCOMMUNICATION

MERCY and Love have met thee on thy road,
 Thou wretched Outcast, from the gift of fire
 And food cut off by sacerdotal ire,
 From every sympathy that Man bestowed!
 Yet shall it claim our reverence, that to God, 5
 Ancient of days! that to the eternal Sire,
 These jealous Ministers of law aspire,
 As to the one sole fount whence wisdom flowed,
 Justice, and order. Tremblingly escaped,
 As if with prescience of the coming storm, 10
That intimation when the stars were shaped;
 And still, 'mid yon thick woods, the primal truth
 Glimmers through many a superstitious form
 That fills the Soul with unavailing ruth.

I.5

UNCERTAINTY

DARKNESS surrounds us; seeking, we are lost
 On Snowdon's wilds, amid Brigantian coves,
 Or where the solitary shepherd roves
 Along the plain of Sarum, by the ghost
 Of Time and shadows of Tradition, crost;
 And where the boatman of the Western Isles
 Slackens his course—to mark those holy piles
 Which yet survive on bleak Iona's coast.
 Nor these, nor monuments of eldest name,
 Nor Taliesin's unforgotten lays,
 Nor characters of Greek or Roman fame,
 To an 'unquestionable Source have led;
 Enough—if eyes, that sought the fountain-head
 In vain, upon the growing Rill may gaze.

5

10

I.6

PERSECUTION

LAMENT! for Diocletian's fiery sword
 Works busy as the lightning; but instinct
 With malice ne'er to deadliest weapon linked,
 Which God's ethereal storehouses afford:
 Against the Followers of the incarnate Lord
 It rages;—some are smitten in the field—
 Some pierced to the heart through the ineffectual shield
 Of sacred home;—with pomp are others gored
 And dreadful respite. Thus was Alban tried,
 England's first Martyr, whom no threats could shake;
 Self-offered victim, for his friend he died,
 And for the faith; nor shall his name forsake
 That Hill, whose flowery platform seems to rise
 By Nature decked for holiest sacrifice.

5

10

I.7

RECOVERY

As, when a storm hath ceased, the birds regain
 Their cheerfulness, and busily retrim
 Their nests, or chant a gratulating hymn
 To the blue ether and bespangled plain;
 Even so, in many a re-constructed fane, 5
 Have the survivors of this Storm renewed
 Their holy rites with vocal gratitude:
 And solemn ceremonials they ordain
 To celebrate their great deliverance;
 Most feelingly instructed 'mid their fear— 10
 That persecution, blind with rage extreme,
 May not the less, through Heaven's mild countenance,
 Even in her own despite, both feed and cheer;
 For all things are less dreadful than they seem.

I.8

TEMPTATIONS FROM ROMAN REFINEMENTS

WATCH, and be firm! for, soul-subduing vice,
 Heart-killing luxury, on your steps await.
 Fair houses, baths, and banquets delicate,
 And temples flashing, bright as polar ice,
 Their radiance through the woods—may yet suffice 5
 To sap your hardy virtue, and abate
 Your love of Him upon whose forehead sate
 The crown of thorns; whose life-blood flowed, the price
 Of your redemption. Shun the insidious arts
 That Rome provides, less dreading from her frown 10
 Than from her wily praise, her peaceful gown,
 Language, and letters;—these, though fondly viewed
 As humanising graces, are but parts
 And instruments of deadliest servitude!

I.9

DISSENSIONS

THAT heresies should strike (if truth be scanned
 Presumptuously) their roots both wide and deep,
 Is natural as dreams to feverish sleep.)
 Lo! Discord at the altar dares to stand
 Uplifting toward high Heaven her fiery brand, 5
 A cherished Priestess of the new-baptized!
 But chastisement shall follow peace despised.
 The Pictish cloud darkens the enervate land
 By Rome abandoned; vain are suppliant cries,
 And prayers that would undo her forced farewell; 10
 For she returns not.—Awed by her own knell,
 She casts the Britons upon strange Allies,
 Soon to become more dreaded enemies
 Than heartless misery called them to repel.

I.10

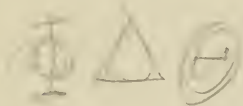
STRUGGLE OF THE BRITONS AGAINST THE BARBARIANS

RISE!—they *have* risen: of brave Aneurin ask
 How they have scourged old foes, perfidious friends:
 The Spirit of Caractacus descends
 Upon the Patriots, animates their task;—
 Amazement runs before the towering casque 5
 Of Arthur, bearing through the stormy field
 The virgin sculptured on his Christian shield:—
 Stretched in the sunny light of victory bask
 The Host that followed Urien as he strode
 O'er heaps of slain;—from Cambrian wood and moss 10
 Druids descend, auxiliars of the Cross;
 Bards, nursed on blue Plinlimmon's still abode,
 Rush on the fight, to harps preferring swords,
 And everlasting deeds to burning words!

I. 11

SAXON CONQUEST

NOR wants the cause the panic-striking aid
 Of hallelujahs tost from hill to hill—
 For instant victory. But Heaven's high will
 Permits a second and a darker shade
 Of Pagan night. Afflicted and dismayed, 5
 The Relics of the sword flee to the mountains:
 O wretched Land! whose tears have flowed like fountains;
 Whose arts and honours in the dust are laid
 By men yet scarcely conscious of a care
 For other monuments than those of Earth; 10
 Who, as the fields and woods have given them birth,
 Will build their savage fortunes only there;
 Content, if foss, and barrow, and the girth
 Of long-drawn rampart, witness what they were.



I. 12

MONASTERY OF OLD BANGOR

THE oppression of the tumult—wrath and scorn—
The tribulation—and the gleaming blades—
 Such is the impetuous spirit that pervades
 The song of Taliesin;—Ours shall mourn
 The *unarmed* Host who by their prayers would turn 5
 The sword from Bangor's walls, and guard the store
 Of Aboriginal and Roman lore,
 And Christian monuments, that now must burn
 To senseless ashes. Mark! how all things swerve
 From their known course, or vanish like a dream; 10
 Another language spreads from coast to coast;
 Only perchance some melancholy Stream
 And some indignant Hills old names preserve,
 When laws, and creeds, and people all are lost!

I.13

CASUAL INCITEMENT

A BRIGHT-HAIRED company of youthful slaves,
 Beautiful strangers, stand within the pale
 Of a sad market, ranged for public sale,
 Where Tiber's stream the immortal City laves:
 ANGLI by name; and not an ANGEL waves 5
 His wing who could seem lovelier to man's eye
 Than they appear to holy Gregory;
 Who, having learnt that name, salvation craves
 For Them, and for their Land. The earnest Sire,
 His questions urging, feels, in slender ties 10
 Of chiming sound, commanding sympathies;
 DE-IRIANS—he would save them from God's IRE;
 Subjects of Saxon ÆLLA—they shall sing
 Glad HAÏLE-lujahs to the eternal King!

I.14

GLAD TIDINGS

FOR ever hallowed be this morning fair,
 Blest be the unconscious shore on which ye tread,
 And blest the silver Cross, which ye, instead
 Of martial banner, in procession bear;
 The Cross preceding Him who floats in air, 5
 The pictured Saviour!—By Augustin led,
 They come—and onward travel without dread,
 Chanting in barbarous ears a tuneful prayer—
 Sung for themselves, and those whom they would free!
 Rich conquest waits them:—the tempestuous sea 10
 Of Ignorance, that ran so rough and high
 And heeded not the voice of clashing swords,
 These good men humble by a few bare words,
 And calm with fear of God's divinity.

I.15

PAULINUS

BUT, to remote Northumbria's royal Hall,
 Where thoughtful Edwin, tutored in the school
 Of sorrow, still maintains a heathen rule,
Who comes with functions apostolical?
 Mark him, of shoulders curved, and stature tall, 5
 Black hair, and vivid eye, and meagre cheek,
 His prominent feature like an eagle's beak;
 A Man whose aspect doth at once appal
 And strike with reverence. The Monarch leans
 Toward the pure truths this Delegate propounds, 10
 Repeatedly his own deep mind he sounds
 With careful hesitation,—then convenes
 A synod of his Councillors:—give ear,
 And what a pensive Sage doth utter, hear!

I.16

PERSUASION

'MAN's life is like a Sparrow, mighty King!
 That—while at banquet with your Chiefs you sit
 Housed near a blazing fire—is seen to flit
 Safe from the wintry tempest. Fluttering,
 Here did it enter; there, on hasty wing, 5
 Flies out, and passes on from cold to cold;
 But whence it came we know not, nor behold
 Whither it goes. Even such, that transient Thing,
 The human Soul; not utterly unknown
 While in the Body lodged, her warm abode; 10
 But from what world She came, what woe or weal
 On her departure waits, no tongue hath shown;
 This mystery if the Stranger can reveal,
 His be a welcome cordially bestowed! '

I.17

CONVERSION

PROMPT transformation works the novel Lore;
 The Council closed, the Priest in full career
 Rides forth, an armèd man, and hurls a spear
 To desecrate the Fane which heretofore
 He served in folly. Woden falls, and Thor 5
 Is overturned; the mace, in battle heaved
 (So might they dream) till victory was achieved,
 Drops, and the God himself is seen no more.
 Temple and Altar sink, to hide their shame
 Amid oblivious weeds. 'O come to me, 10
 Ye heavy laden!' such the inviting voice
 Heard near fresh streams; and thousands, who rejoice
 In the new Rite—the pledge of sanctity,
 Shall, by regenerate life, the promise claim.

I.18

APOLOGY

NOR scorn the aid which Fancy oft doth lend
 The Soul's eternal interests to promote:
 Death, darkness, danger, are our natural lot;
 And evil Spirits *may* our walk attend
 For aught the wisest know or comprehend; 5
 Then be *good* Spirits free to breathe a note
 Of elevation; let their odours float
 Around these Converts; and their glories blend,
 The midnight stars outshining, or the blaze
 Of the noon-day. Nor doubt that golden cords 10
 Of good works, mingling with the visions, raise
 The Soul to purer worlds: and *who* the line
 Shall draw, the limits of the power define,
 That even imperfect faith to man affords?

I.19

PRIMITIVE SAXON CLERGY

How beautiful your presence, how benign,
 Servants of God! who not a thought will share
 With the vain world; who, outwardly as bare
 As winter trees, yield no fallacious sign
 That the firm soul is clothed with fruit divine! 5
 Such Priest, when service worthy of his care
 Has called him forth to breathe the common air,
 Might seem a saintly Image from its shrine
 Descended:—happy are the eyes that meet
 The Apparition; evil thoughts are stayed 10
 At his approach, and low-bowed necks entreat
 A benediction from his voice or hand;
 Whence grace, through which the heart can understand,
 And vows, that bind the will, in silence made.

I.20

OTHER INFLUENCES

AH, when the Body, round which in love we clung,
 Is chilled by death, does mutual service fail?
 Is tender pity then of no avail?
 Are intercessions of the fervent tongue
 A waste of hope?—From this sad source have sprung 5
 Rites that console the Spirit, under grief
 Which ill can brook more rational relief:
 Hence, prayers are shaped amiss, and dirges sung
 For Souls whose doom is fixed! The way is smooth
 For Power that travels with the human heart: 10
 Confession ministers the pang to soothe
 In him who at the ghost of guilt doth start.
 Ye holy Men, so earnest in your care,
 Of your own mighty instruments beware!

I.21

SECLUSION

LANCE, shield, and sword relinquished—at his side
 A bead-roll, in his hand a claspèd book,
 Or staff more harmless than a shepherd's crook,
 The war-worn Chieftain quits the world—to hide
 His thin autumnal locks where Monks abide 5
 In cloistered privacy. But not to dwell
 In soft repose he comes. Within his cell,
 Round the decaying trunk of human pride,
 At morn, and eve, and midnight's silent hour,
 Do penitential cogitations cling; 10
 Like ivy, round some ancient elm, they twine
 In grisly folds and strictures serpentine;
 Yet, while they strangle, a fair growth they bring,
 For recompense—their own perennial bower.

I.22

CONTINUED

METHINKS that to some vacant hermitage
 My feet would rather turn—to some dry nook
 Scooped out of living rock, and near a brook
 Hurl'd down a mountain-cove from stage to stage,
 Yet tempering, for my sight, its bustling rage 5
 In the soft heaven of a translucent pool;
 Thence creeping under sylvan arches cool,
 Fit haunt of shapes whose glorious equipage
 Would elevate my dreams. A beechen bowl,
 A maple dish, my furniture should be; 10
 Crisp, yellow leaves my bed; the hooting owl
 My night-watch: nor should e'er the crested fowl
 From thorp or vill his matins sound for me,
 Tired of the world and all its industry.

I.23

REPROOF

BUT what if One, through grove or flowery mead,
 Indulging thus at will the creeping feet
 Of a voluptuous indolence, should meet
 Thy hovering Shade, O venerable Bede!
 The saint, the scholar, from a circle freed 5
 Of toil stupendous, in a hallowed seat
 Of learning, where thou heard'st the billows beat
 On a wild coast, rough monitors to feed
 Perpetual industry. Sublime Recluse!
 The recreant soul, that dares to shun the debt 10
 Imposed on human kind, must first forget
 Thy diligence, thy unrelaxing use
 Of a long life; and, in the hour of death,
 The last dear service of thy passing breath!

I.24

 SAXON MONASTERIES, AND LIGHTS AND
 SHADES OF THE RELIGION

By such examples moved to unbought pains,
 The people work like congregated bees;
 Eager to build the quiet Fortresses
 Where Piety, as they believe, obtains
 From Heaven a *general* blessing; timely rains 5
 Or needful sunshine; prosperous enterprise,
 Justice and peace:—bold faith! yet also rise
 The sacred Structures for less doubtful gains.
 The Sensual think with reverence of the palms
 Which the chaste Votaries seek, beyond the grave; 10
 If penance be redeemable, thence alms
 Flow to the poor, and freedom to the slave;
 And if full oft the Sanctuary save
 Lives black with guilt, ferocity it calms.

I.25

MISSIONS AND TRAVELS

NOT sedentary all: there are who roam
 To scatter seeds of life on barbarous shores;
 Or quit with zealous step their knee-worn floors
 To seek the general mart of Christendom;
 Whence they, like richly-laden merchants, come 5
 To their belovèd cells:—or shall we say
 That, like the Red-cross Knight, they urge their way,
 To lead in memorable triumph home
 Truth, their immortal Una? Babylon,
 Learnèd and wise, hath perished utterly, 10
 Nor leaves her Speech one word to aid the sigh
 That would lament her;—Memphis, Tyre, are gone
 With all their Arts,—but classic lore glides on
 By these Religious saved for all posterity.

I.26

ALFRED

BEHOLD a pupil of the monkish gown,
 The pious ALFRED, King to Justice dear!
 Lord of the harp and liberating spear;
 Mirror of Princes! Indigent Renown
 Might range the starry ether for a crown 5
 Equal to *his* deserts, who, like the year,
 Pours forth his bounty, like the day doth cheer,
 And awes like night with mercy-tempered frown.
 Ease from this noble miser of his time
 No moment steals; pain narrows not his cares. 10
 Though small his kingdom as a spark or gem,
 Of Alfred boasts remote Jerusalem,
 And Christian India, through her wide-spread clime,
 In sacred converse gifts with Alfred shares.

I.27

HIS DESCENDANTS

WHEN thy great soul was freed from mortal chains,
 Darling of England! many a bitter shower
 Fell on thy tomb; but emulative power
 Flowed in thy line through undegenerate veins.
 The Race of Alfred covet glorious pains 5
 When dangers threaten, dangers ever new!
 Black tempests bursting, blacker still in view!
 But manly sovereignty its hold retains;
 The root sincere, the branches bold to strive
 With the fierce tempest, while, within the round 10
 Of their protection, gentle virtues thrive;
 As oft, 'mid some green plot of open ground,
 Wide as the oak extends its dewy gloom,
 The fostered hyacinths spread their purple bloom.

I.28

INFLUENCE ABUSED

URGED by Ambition, who with subtlest skill
 Changes her means, the Enthusiast as a dupe
 Shall soar, and as a hypocrite can stoop,
 And turn the instruments of good to ill,
 Moulding the credulous people to his will. 5
 Such DUNSTAN:—from its Benedictine coop
 Issues the master Mind, at whose fell swoop
 The chaste affections tremble to fulfil
 Their purposes. Behold, pre-signified,
 The Might of spiritual sway! his thoughts, his dreams, 10
 Do in the supernatural world abide:
 So vaunt a throng of Followers, filled with pride
 In what they see of virtues pushed to extremes,
 And sorceries of talent misapplied.

I.29

DANISH CONQUESTS

WOE to the Crown that dōth the Cowl obey!
 Dissension, checking arms that would restrain
 The incessant Rovers of the northern main,
 Helps to restore and spread a Pagan sway:
 But Gospel-truth is potent to allay 5
 Fierceness and rage; and soon the cruel Dane
 Feels, through the influence of her gentle reign,
 His native superstitions melt away.
 Thus, often, when thick gloom the east o'ershrouds,
 The full-orbed Moon, slow-climbing, doth appear 10
 Silently to consume the heavy clouds;
How no one can resolve; but every eye
 Around her sees, while air is hushed, a clear
 And widening circuit of ethereal sky.

I.30

CANUTE

A PLEASANT music floats along the Mere,
 From Monks in Ely chanting service high,
 While-as Canute the King is rowing by:
 'My Oarsmen,' quoth the mighty King, 'draw near,
 That we the sweet song of the Monks may hear!' 5
 He listens (all past conquests and all schemes
 Of future vanishing like empty dreams)
 Heart-touched, and haply not without a tear.
 The Royal Minstrel, ere the choir is still,
 While his free Barge skims the smooth flood along, 10
 Gives to that rapture an accordant Rhyme.
 O suffering Earth! be thankful; sternest clime
 And rudest age are subject to the thrill
 Of heaven-descended Piety and Song.

I.31

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

THE woman-hearted Confessor prepares
The evanescence of the Saxon line.
Hark! 'tis the tolling Curfew!—the stars shine;
But of the lights that cherish household cares
And festive gladness, burns not one that dares 5
To twinkle after that dull stroke of thine,
Emblem and instrument, from Thames to Tyne,
Of force that daunts, and cunning that ensnares!
Yet as the terrors of the lordly bell,
That quench, from hut to palace, lamps and fires, 10
Touch not the tapers of the sacred quires;
Even so a thralldom, studious to expel
Old laws, and ancient customs to derange,
To Creed or Ritual brings no fatal change.

I.32

COLDLY we spake. The Saxons, overpowered
By wrong triumphant through its own excess,
From fields laid waste, from house and home devoured
By flames, look up to heaven and crave redress
From God's eternal justice. Pitiless 5
Though men be, there are angels that can feel
For wounds that death alone has power to heal,
For penitent guilt, and innocent distress.
And has a Champion risen in arms to try
His Country's virtue, fought, and breathes no more; 10
Him in their hearts the people canonize;
And far above the mine's most precious ore
The least small pittance of bare mould they prize
Scooped from the sacred earth where his dear relics lie.

I.33

THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT

'AND shall,' the Pontiff asks, 'profaneness flow
 From Nazareth—source of Christian piety,
 From Bethlehem, from the Mounts of Agony
 And glorified Ascension? Warriors, go,
 With prayers and blessings we your path will sow; 5
 Like Moses hold our hands erect, till ye
 Have chased far off by righteous victory
 These sons of Amalek, or laid them low!'—
 'GOD WILLETH IT,' the whole assembly cry;
 Shout which the enraptured multitude astounds! 10
 The Council-roof and Clermont's towers reply;—
 'God willeth it,' from hill to hill rebounds,
 And, in awe-stricken Countries far and nigh,
 Through 'Nature's hollow arch' that voice resounds.

I.34

CRUSADES

THE turbaned Race are poured in thickening swarms
 Along the west; though driven from Aquitaine,
 The Crescent glitters on the towers of Spain;
 And soft Italia feels renewed alarms;
 The scimitar, that yields not to the charms 5
 Of ease, the narrow Bosphorus will disdain;
 Nor long (that crossed) would Grecian hills detain
 Their tents, and check the current of their arms.
 Then blame not those who, by the mightiest lever
 Known to the moral world, Imagination, 10
 Upheave, so seems it, from her natural station
 All Christendom:—they sweep along (was never
 So huge a host!)—to tear from the Unbeliever
 The precious Tomb, their haven of salvation.

I.35

RICHARD I

REDOUBTED King, of courage leonine,
 I mark thee, Richard! urgent to equip
 Thy warlike person with the staff and scrip;
 I watch thee sailing o'er the midland brine;
 In conquered Cyprus see thy Bride decline 5
 Her blushing cheek, love-vows upon her lip,
 And see love-emblems streaming from thy ship,
 As thence she holds her way to Palestine.
 My Song, a fearless homager, would attend
 Thy thundering battle-axe as it cleaves the press 10
 Of war, but duty summons her away
 To tell—how, finding in the rash distress
 Of those Enthusiasts a subservient friend,
 To giddier heights hath clomb the Papal sway.

I.36

AN INTERDICT

REALMS quake by turns: proud Arbitress of grace,
 The Church, by mandate shadowing forth the power
 She arrogates o'er heaven's eternal door,
 Closes the gates of every sacred place.
 Straight from the sun and tainted air's embrace 5
 All sacred things are covered: cheerful morn
 Grows sad as night—no seemly garb is worn,
 Nor is a face allowed to meet a face
 With natural smiles of greeting. Bells are dumb;
 Ditches are graves—funereal rites denied; 10
 And in the church-yard he must take his bride
 Who dares be wedded! Fancies thickly come
 Into the pensive heart ill fortified,
 And comfortless despairs the soul benumb.

I.37

PAPAL ABUSES

As with the Stream our voyage we pursue,
 The gross materials of this world present
 A marvellous study of wild accident;
 Uncouth proximities of old and new;
 And bold transfigurations, more untrue 5
 (As might be deemed) to disciplined intent
 Than aught the sky's fantastic element,
 When most fantastic, offers to the view.
 Saw we not Henry scourged at Becket's Shrine?
 Lo! John self-stripped of his insignia:—crown, 10
 Sceptre and mantle, sword and ring, laid down
 At a proud Legate's feet! The spears that line
 Baronial halls, the opprobrious insult feel;
 And angry Ocean roars a vain appeal.

I.38

SCENE IN VENICE

BLACK Demons hovering o'er his mitred head,
 To Cæsar's Successor the Pontiff spake;
 'Ere I absolve thee, stoop! that on thy neck
 Levelled with earth this foot of mine may tread.'
 Then he, who to the altar had been led, 5
 He, whose strong arm the Orient could not check,
 He, who had held the Soldan at his beck,
 Stooped, of all glory disinherited,
 And even the common dignity of man!—
 Amazement strikes the crowd: while many turn 10
 Their eyes away in sorrow, others burn
 With scorn, invoking a vindictive ban
 From outraged Nature; but the sense of most
 In abject sympathy with power is lost.

I.39

PAPAL DOMINION

UNLESS to Peter's Chair the viewless wind
 Must come and ask permission when to blow,
 What further empire would it have? for now
 A ghostly Domination, unconfined
 As that by dreaming Bards to Love assigned, 5
 Sits there in sober truth—to raise the low,
 Perplex the wise, the strong to overthrow;
 Through earth and heaven to bind and to unbind!—
 Resist—the thunder quails thee!—crouch—rebuff
 Shall be thy recompense! from land to land 10
 The ancient thrones of Christendom are stuff
 For occupation of a magic wand,
 And 'tis the Pope that wields it:—whether rough
 Or smooth his front, our world is in his hand!

PART 2

 TO THE CLOSE OF THE TROUBLES IN THE
 REIGN OF CHARLES I

2.1

How soon—alas! did Man, created pure—
 By Angels guarded, deviate from the line
 Prescribed to duty:—woeful forfeiture
 He made by wilful breach of law divine.
 With like perverseness did the Church abjure 5
 Obedience to her Lord, and haste to twine,
 'Mid Heaven-born flowers that shall for aye endure,
 Weeds on whose front the world had fixed her sign.
 O Man,—if with thy trials thus it fares,
 If good can smooth the way to evil choice, 10
 From all rash censure be the mind kept free;
 He only judges right who weighs, compares,
 And, in the sternest sentence which his voice
 Pronounces, ne'er abandons Charity.

2.2

FROM false assumption rose, and fondly hailed
 By superstition, spread the Papal power;
 Yet do not deem the Autocracy prevailed
 Thus only, even in error's darkest hour.
 She daunts, forth-thundering from her spiritual tower 5
 Brute rapine, or with gentle lure she tames.
 Justice and Peace through Her uphold their claims;
 And Chastity finds many a sheltering bower.
 Realm there is none that if controlled or swayed
 By her commands partakes not, in degree, 10
 Of good, o'er manners arts and arms, diffused:
 Yes, to thy domination, Roman See,
 Though miserably, oft monstrously, abused
 By blind ambition, be this tribute paid.

2.3

CISTERTIAN MONASTERY

'HERE Man more purely lives, less oft doth fall,
More promptly rises, walks with stricter heed,
More safely rests, dies happier, is freed
Earlier from cleansing fires, and gains withal
A brighter crown.'—On yon Cistercian wall 5
 That confident assurance may be read;
 And, to like shelter, from the world have fled
 Increasing multitudes. The potent call
 Doubtless shall cheat full oft the heart's desires;
 Yet, while the rugged Age on pliant knee 10
 Vows to rapt Fancy humble fealty,
 A gentler life spreads round the holy spires;
 Where'er they rise, the sylvan waste retires,
 And aery harvests crown the fertile lea.

2.4

DEPLORABLE his lot who tills the ground,
 His whole life long tills it, with heartless toil
 Of villain-service, passing with the soil
 To each new Master, like a steer or hound,
 Or like a rooted tree, or stone earth-bound; 5
 But mark how gladly, through their own domains,
 The Monks relax or break these iron chains;
 While Mercy, uttering, through their voice, a sound
 Echoed in Heaven, cries out, 'Ye Chiefs, abate
 These legalized oppressions! Man—whose name 10
 And nature God disdained not; Man—whose soul
 Christ died for—cannot forfeit his high claim
 To live and move exempt from all control
 Which fellow-feeling doth not mitigate!'

2.5

MONKS AND SCHOOLMEN

RECORD we too, with just and faithful pen,
 That many hooded Cenobites there are,
 Who in their private cells have yet a care
 Of public quiet; unambitious Men,
 Counsellors for the world, of piercing ken; 5
 Whose fervent exhortations from afar
 Move Princes to their duty, peace or war;
 And oft-times in the most forbidding den
 Of solitude, with love of science strong,
 How patiently the yoke of thought they bear! 10
 How subtly glide its finest threads along!
 Spirits that crowd the intellectual sphere
 With mazy boundaries, as the astronomer
 With orb and cycle girds the starry throng.

2.6

OTHER BENEFITS

AND, not in vain embodied to the sight,
 Religion finds even in the stern retreat
 Of feudal sway her own appropriate seat;
 From the collegiate pomps on Windsor's height
 Down to the humbler altar, which the Knight 5
 And his Retainers of the embattled hall
 Seek in domestic oratory small,
 For prayer in stillness, or the chanted rite;
 Then chiefly dear, when foes are planted round,
 Who teach the intrepid guardians of the place— 10
 Hourly exposed to death, with famine worn,
 And suffering under many a perilous wound—
 How sad would be their durance, if forlorn
 Of offices dispensing heavenly grace!

2.7

CONTINUED

AND what melodious sounds at times prevail!
 And, ever and anon, how bright a gleam
 Pours on the surface of the turbid Stream!
 What heartfelt fragrance mingles with the gale
 That swells the bosom of our passing sail! 5
 For where, but on *this* River's margin, blow
 Those flowers of chivalry, to bind the brow
 Of hardihood with wreaths that shall not fail?—
 Fair Court of Edward! wonder of the world!
 I see a matchless blazonry unfurled 10
 Of wisdom, magnanimity, and love;
 And meekness tempering honourable pride;
 The lamb is couching by the lion's side,
 And near the flame-eyed eagle sits the dove.

2.8

CRUSADERS

FURL we the sails, and pass with tardy oars
 Through these bright regions, casting many a glance
 Upon the dream-like issues—the romance
 Of many-coloured life that Fortune pours
 Round the Crusaders, till on distant shores 5
 Their labours end; or they return to lie,
 The vow performed, in cross-legged effigy,
 Devoutly stretched upon their chancel floors.
 Am I deceived? Or is their requiem chanted
 By voices never mute when Heaven unties 10
 Her inmost, softest, tenderest harmonies;
 Requiem which Earth takes up with voice undaunted,
 When she would tell how Brave, and Good, and Wise,
 For their high guerdon not in vain have panted!

2.9

As faith thus sanctified the warrior's crest
 While from the Papal Unity there came,
 What feebler means had failed to give, one aim
 Diffused through all the regions of the West;
 So does her Unity its power attest 5
 By works of Art, that shed, on the outward frame
 Of worship, glory and grace, which who shall blame
 That ever looked to heaven for final rest?
 Hail countless Temples! that so well befit
 Your ministry; that, as ye rise and take 10
 Form spirit and character from holy writ,
 Give to devotion, wheresoe'er awake,
 Pinions of high and higher sweep, and make
 The unconverted soul with awe submit.

2.10

WHERE long and deeply hath been fixed the root
 In the blest soil of gospel truth, the Tree,
 (Blighted or scathed though many branches be,
 Put forth to wither, many a hopeful shoot)
 Can never cease to bear celestial fruit. 5
 Witness the Church that oft-times, with effect
 Dear to the saints, strives earnestly to eject
 Her bane, her vital energies recruit.
 Lamenting, do not hopelessly repine
 When such good work is doomed to be undone, 10
 The conquests lost that were so hardly won:—
 All promises vouchsafed by Heaven will shine
 In light confirmed while years their course shall run,
 Confirmed alike in progress and decline.

2.11

TRANSUBSTANTIATION

ENOUGH! for see, with dim association
 The tapers burn; the odorous incense feeds
 A greedy flame; the pompous mass proceeds;
 The Priest bestows the appointed consecration;
 And, while the Host is raised, its elevation 5
 An awe and supernatural horror breeds;
 And all the people bow their heads, like reeds
 To a soft breeze, in lowly adoration.
 This Valdo brooks not. On the banks of Rhone
 He taught, till persecution chased him thence, 10
 To adore the Invisible, and Him alone.
 Nor are his Followers loth to seek defence,
 'Mid woods and wilds, on Nature's craggy throne,
 From rites that trample upon soul and sense.

2.12

THE VAUDOIS

BUT whence came they who for the Saviour Lord
 Have long borne witness as the Scriptures teach?—
 Ages ere Valdo raised his voice to preach
 In Gallic ears the unadulterate Word,
 Their fugitive Progenitors explored 5
 Subalpine vales, in quest of safe retreats
 Where that pure Church survives, though summer heats
 Open a passage to the Romish sword,
 Far as it dares to follow. Herbs self-sown,
 And fruitage gathered from the chestnut wood, 10
 Nourish the sufferers then; and mists, that brood
 O'er chasms with new-fallen obstacles bestrown,
 Protect them; and the eternal snow that daunts
 Aliens, is God's good winter for their haunts.

2.13

PRAISED be the Rivers, from their mountain springs
 Shouting to Freedom, 'Plant thy banners here!'
 To harassed Piety, 'Dismiss thy fear,
 And in our caverns smooth thy ruffled wings!'
 Nor be unthanked their final lingerings— 5
 Silent, but not to high-souled Passion's ear—
 'Mid reedy fens wide-spread and marshes drear,
 Their own creation. Such glad welcomings
 As Po was heard to give where Venice rose
 Hailed from aloft those Heirs of truth divine 10
 Who near his fountains sought obscure repose,
 Yet came prepared as glorious lights to shine,
 Should that be needed for their sacred Charge;
 Blest Prisoners They, whose spirits were at large!

2.14

WALDENSES

THOSE had given earliest notice, as the lark
 Springs from the ground the morn to gratulate;
 Or rather rose the day to antedate,
 By striking out a solitary spark,
 When all the world with midnight gloom was dark.— 5
 Then followed the Waldensian bands, whom Hate
 In vain endeavours to exterminate,
 Whom Obloquy pursues with hideous bark:
 But they desist not;—and the sacred fire,
 Rekindled thus, from dens and savage woods 10
 Moves, handed on with never-ceasing care,
 Through courts, through camps, o'er liminary floods;
 Nor lacks this sea-girt Isle a timely share
 Of the new Flame, not suffered to expire.

2.15

ARCHBISHOP CHICHELEY TO HENRY V

'WHAT beast in wilderness or cultured field
 The lively beauty of the leopard shows?
 What flower in meadow-ground or garden grows
 That to the towering lily doth not yield?
 Let both meet only on thy royal shield! 5
 Go forth, great King! claim what thy birth bestows;
 Conquer the Gallic lily which thy foes
 Dare to usurp;—thou hast a sword to wield,
 And Heaven will crown the right.'—The mitred Sire
 Thus spake—and lo! a Fleet, for Gaul address, 10
 Ploughs her bold course across the wondering seas;
 For, sooth to say, ambition, in the breast
 Of youthful heroes, is no sullen fire,
 But one that leaps to meet the fanning breeze.

2.16

WARS OF YORK AND LANCASTER

THUS is the storm abated by the craft
 Of a shrewd Counsellor, eager to protect
 The Church, whose power hath recently been checked,
 Whose monstrous riches threatened. So the shaft
 Of victory mounts high, and blood is quaffed 5
 In fields that rival Cressy and Poitiers—
 Pride to be washed away by bitter tears!
 For deep as hell itself, the avenging draught
 Of civil slaughter. Yet, while temporal power
 Is by these shocks exhausted, spiritual truth 10
 Maintains the else endangered gift of life;
 Proceeds from infancy to lusty youth;
 And, under cover of this woeful strife,
 Gathers unblighted strength from hour to hour.

2.17

WICLIFFE

ONCE more the Church is seized with sudden fear,
 And at her call is Wicliffe disinhumed:
 Yea, his dry bones to ashes are consumed
 And flung into the brook that travels near;
 Forthwith, that ancient Voice which Streams can hear 5
 Thus speaks (that Voice which walks upon the wind,
 Though seldom heard by busy human kind)—
 'As thou these ashes, little Brook! wilt bear
 Into the Avon, Avon to the tide
 Of Severn, Severn to the narrow seas, 10
 Into main Ocean they, this deed accurst
 An emblem yields to friends and enemies
 How the bold Teacher's Doctrine, sanctified
 By truth, shall spread, throughout the world dispersed.'

2.18

CORRUPTIONS OF THE HIGHER CLERGY

'Woe to you, Prelates! rioting in ease
 And cumbrous wealth—the shame of your estate;
 You, on whose progress dazzling trains await
 Of pompous horses; whom vain titles please;
 Who will be served by others on their knees, 5
 Yet will yourselves to God no service pay;
 Pastors who neither take nor point the way
 To Heaven; for, either lost in vanities
 Ye have no skill to teach, or if ye know
 And speak the word——' Alas! of fearful things 10
 'Tis the most fearful when the people's eye
 Abuse hath cleared from vain imaginings;
 And taught the general voice to prophesy
 Of Justice armed, and Pride to be laid low.

2.19

ABUSE OF MONASTIC POWER

AND what is Penance with her knotted thong;
 Mortification with the shirt of hair,
 Wan cheek, and knees indurated with prayer,
 Vigils, and fastings rigorous as long;
 If cloistered Avarice scruple not to wrong 5
 The pious, humble, useful Secular,
 And rob the people of his daily care,
 Scorning that world whose blindness makes her strong?
 Inversion strange! that, unto One who lives
 For self, and struggles with himself alone, 10
 The amplest share of heavenly favour gives;
 That to a Monk allots, both in the esteem
 Of God and man, place higher than to him
 Who on the good of others builds his own!

2.20

MONASTIC VOLUPTUOUSNESS

YET more,—round many a Convent's blazing fire
 Unhallowed threads of revelry are spun;
 There Venus sits disguisèd like a Nun,—
 While Bacchus, clothed in semblance of a Friar,
 Pours out his choicest beverage high and higher 5
 Sparkling, until it cannot choose but run
 Over the bowl, whose silver lip hath won
 An instant kiss of masterful desire—
 To stay the precious waste. Through every brain
 The domination of the sprightly juice 10
 Spreads high conceits to madding Fancy dear,
 Till the arched roof, with resolute abuse
 Of its grave echoes, swells a choral strain,
 Whose votive burthen is—'OUR KINGDOM'S HERE!'

2.21

DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

THREATS come which no submission may assuage,
 No sacrifice avert, no power dispute;
 The tapers shall be quenched, the belfries mute,
 And, 'mid their choirs unroofed by selfish rage,
 The warbling wren shall find a leafy cage; 5
 The gadding bramble hang her purple fruit;
 And the green lizard and the gilded newt
 Lead unmolested lives, and die of age.
 The owl of evening and the woodland fox
 For their abode the shrines of Waltham choose: 10
 Proud Glastonbury can no more refuse
 To stoop her head before these desperate shocks—
 She whose high pomp displaced, as story tells,
 Arimathean Joseph's wattled cells.

2.22

THE SAME SUBJECT

THE lovely Nun (submissive, but more meek
 Through saintly habit than from effort due
 To unrelenting mandates that pursue
 With equal wrath the steps of strong and weak)
 Goes forth—unveiling timidly a cheek 5
 Suffused with blushes of celestial hue,
 While through the Convent's gate to open view
 Softly she glides, another home to seek.
 Not Iris, issuing from her cloudy shrine,
 An Apparition more divinely bright! 10
 Not more attractive to the dazzled sight
 Those watery glories, on the stormy brine
 Poured forth, while summer suns at distance shine,
 And the green vales lie hushed in sober light!

2.23

CONTINUED

YET many a Novice of the cloistral shade,
 And many chained by vows, with eager glee
 The warrant hail, exulting to be free;
 Like ships before whose keels, full long embayed
 In polar ice, propitious winds have made 5
 Unlooked-for outlet to an open sea,
 Their liquid world, for bold discovery,
 In all her quarters temptingly displayed!
 Hope guides the young; but when the old must pass
 The threshold, whither shall they turn to find 10
 The hospitality—the alms (alas!
 Alms may be needed) which that House bestowed?
 Can they, in faith and worship, train the mind
 To keep this new and questionable road?

2.24

SAINTS

YE, too, must fly before a chasing hand,
Angels and Saints, in every hamlet mourned!
Ah! if the old idolatry be spurned,
Let not your radiant Shapes desert the Land:
Her adoration was not your demand, 5
The fond heart proffered it—the servile heart;
And therefore are ye summoned to depart,
Michael, and thou, St. George, whose flaming brand
The Dragon quelled; and valiant Margaret
Whose rival sword a like Opponent slew: 10
And rapt Cecilia, seraph-haunted Queen
Of harmony; and weeping Magdalene,
Who in the penitential desert met
Gales sweet as those that over Eden blew!

2.25

THE VIRGIN

MOTHER! whose virgin bosom was uncrost
With the least shade of thought to sin allied;
Woman! above all women glorified,
Our tainted nature's solitary boast;
Purer than foam on central ocean tost; 5
Brighter than eastern skies at daybreak strewn
With fancied roses, than the unblemished moon
Before her wane begins on heaven's blue coast;
Thy Image falls to earth. Yet some, I ween,
Not unforgiven the suppliant knee might bend, 10
As to a visible Power, in which did blend
All that was mixed and reconciled in Thee
Of mother's love with maiden purity,
Of high with low, celestial with terrene!

2.26

APOLOGY

NOT utterly unworthy to endure
 Was the supremacy of crafty Rome;
 Age after age to the arch of Christendom
 Aerial keystone haughtily secure;
 Supremacy from Heaven transmitted pure, 5
 As many hold; and, therefore, to the tomb
 Pass, some through fire—and by the scaffold some—
 Like saintly Fisher, and unbending More.
 'Lightly for both the bosom's lord did sit
 Upon his throne'; unsoftened, undismayed 10
 By aught that mingled with the tragic scene
 Of pity or fear; and More's gay genius played
 With the inoffensive sword of native wit,
 Than the bare axe more luminous and keen.

2.27

IMAGINATIVE REGRETS

DEEP is the lamentation! Not alone
 From Sages justly honoured by mankind;
 But from the ghostly tenants of the wind,
 Demons and Spirits, many a dolorous groan
 Issues for that dominion overthrown: 5
 Proud Tiber grieves, and far-off Ganges, blind
 As his own worshippers: and Nile, reclined
 Upon his monstrous urn, the farewell moan
 Renews. Through every forest, cave, and den,
 Where frauds were hatched of old, hath sorrow past— 10
 Hangs o'er the Arabian Prophet's native Waste,
 Where once his airy helpers schemed and planned
 'Mid spectral lakes bemocking thirsty men,
 And stalking pillars built of fiery sand.

2.28

REFLECTIONS

GRANT, that by this unsparing hurricane
 Green leaves with yellow mixed are torn away,
 And goodly fruitage with the mother-spray;
 'Twere madness—wished we, therefore, to detain,
 With hands stretched forth in mollified disdain, 5
 The 'trumpery' that ascends in bare display—
 Bulls, pardons, relics, cowls black, white, and grey—
 Upwhirled, and flying o'er the ethereal plain
 Fast bound for Limbo Lake. And yet not choice
 But habit rules the unreflecting herd, 10
 And airy bonds are hardest to disown;
 Hence, with the spiritual sovereignty transferred
 Unto itself, the Crown assumes a voice
 Of reckless mastery, hitherto unknown.

2.29

TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

BUT, to outweigh all harm, the sacred Book,
 In dusty sequestration wrapt too long,
 Assumes the accents of our native tongue;
 And he who guides the plough, or wields the crook,
 With understanding spirit now may look 5
 Upon her records, listen to her song,
 And sift her laws—much wondering that the wrong,
 Which Faith has suffered, Heaven could calmly brook.
 Transcendent Boon! noblest that earthly King
 Ever bestowed to equalize and bless 10
 Under the weight of mortal wretchedness!
 But passions spread like plagues, and thousands wild
 With bigotry shall tread the Offering
 Beneath their feet, detested and defiled.

2.30

THE POINT AT ISSUE

FOR what contend the wise?—for nothing less
 Than that the Soul, freed from the bonds of Sense,
 And to her God restored by evidence
 Of things not seen, drawn forth from their recess,
 Root there, and not in forms, her holiness;— 5
 For Faith, which to the Patriarchs did dispense
 Sure guidance, ere a ceremonial fence
 Was needful round men thirsting to transgress;—
 For Faith, more perfect still, with which the Lord
 Of all, himself a Spirit, in the youth 10
 Of Christian aspiration, deigned to fill
 The temples of their hearts who, with his word
 Informed, were resolute to do his will,
 And worship him in spirit and in truth.

2.31

EDWARD VI

'SWEET is the holiness of Youth'—so felt
 Time-honoured Chaucer speaking through that Lay
 By which the Prioress beguiled the way,
 And many a Pilgrim's rugged heart did melt.
 Hadst thou, loved Bard! whose spirit often dwelt 5
 In the clear land of vision, but foreseen
 King, child, and seraph, blended in the mien
 Of pious Edward kneeling as he knelt
 In meek and simple infancy, what joy
 For universal Christendom had thrilled 10
 Thy heart! what hopes inspired thy genius, skilled
 (O great Precursor, genuine morning Star)
 The lucid shafts of reason to employ,
 Piercing the Papal darkness from afar!

2.32

EDWARD SIGNING THE WARRANT FOR THE
EXECUTION OF JOAN OF KENT

THE tears of man in various measure gush
 From various sources; gently overflow
 From blissful transport some—from clefts of woe
 Some with ungovernable impulse rush;
 And some, coeval with the earliest blush 5
 Of infant passion, scarcely dare to show
 Their pearly lustre—coming but to go;
 And some break forth when others' sorrows crush
 The sympathising heart. Nor these, nor yet
 The noblest drops to admiration known, 10
 To gratitude, to injuries forgiven—
 Claim Heaven's regard like waters that have wet
 The innocent eyes of youthful Monarchs driven
 To pen the mandates, nature doth disown.

2.33

REVIVAL OF POPERY

THE saintly Youth has ceased to rule, discrowned
 By unrelenting Death. O People keen
 For change, to whom the new looks always green!
 Rejoicing did they cast upon the ground
 Their Gods of wood and stone; and, at the sound 5
 Of counter-proclamation, now are seen,
 (Proud triumph is it for a sullen Queen!)
 Lifting them up, the worship to confound
 Of the Most High. Again do they invoke
 The Creature, to the Creature glory give; 10
 Again with frankincense the altars smoke
 Like those the Heathen served; and mass is sung;
 And prayer, man's rational prerogative,
 Runs through blind channels of an unknown tongue.

2.34

LATIMER AND RIDLEY

How fast the Marian death-list is unrolled!
 See Latimer and Ridley in the might
 Of Faith stand coupled for a common flight!
 One (like those prophets whom God sent of old)
 Transfigured, from this kindling hath foretold 5
 A torch of inextinguishable light;
 The Other gains a confidence as bold;
 And thus they foil their enemy's despise.
 The penal instruments, the shows of crime,
 Are glorified while this once-mitred pair 10
 Of saintly Friends the 'murderer's chain partake,
 Corded, and burning at the social stake':
 Earth never witnessed object more sublime
 In constancy, in fellowship more fair!

2.35

CRANMER

OUTSTRETCHING flame-ward his upbraided hand
 (O God of mercy, may no earthly Seat
 Of judgment such presumptuous doom repeat!)
 Amid the shuddering throng doth Cranmer stand;
 Firm as the stake to which with iron band 5
 His frame is tied; firm from the naked feet
 To the bare head. The victory is complete;
 The shrouded Body to the Soul's command
 Answers with more than Indian fortitude,
 Through all her nerves with finer sense endued, 10
 Till breath departs in blissful aspiration:
 Then, 'mid the ghastly ruins of the fire,
 Behold the unalterable heart entire,
 Emblem of faith untouched, miraculous attestation!

2.36

GENERAL VIEW OF THE TROUBLES OF THE REFORMATION

AID, glorious Martyrs, from your fields of light,
 Our mortal ken! Inspire a perfect trust
 (While we look round) that Heaven's decrees are just:
 Which few can hold committed to a fight
 That shows, ev'n on its better side, the might 5
 Of proud Self-will, Rapacity, and Lust,
 'Mid clouds enveloped of polemic dust,
 Which showers of blood seem rather to incite
 Than to allay. Anathemas are hurled
 From both sides; veteran thunders (the brute test 10
 Of truth) are met by fulminations new—
 Tartarean flags are caught at, and unfurled—
 Friends strike at friends—the flying shall pursue—
 And Victory sickens, ignorant where to rest!

2.37

ENGLISH REFORMERS IN EXILE

SCATTERING, like birds escaped the fowler's net,
 Some seek with timely flight a foreign strand;
 Most happy, re-assembled in a land
 By dauntless Luther freed, could they forget
 Their Country's woes. But scarcely have they met, 5
 Partners in faith, and brothers in distress,
 Free to pour forth their common thankfulness,
 Ere hope declines:—their union is beset
 With speculative notions rashly sown,
 Whence thickly-sprouting growth of poisonous weeds; 10
 Their forms are broken staves; their passions, steeds
 That master them. How enviably blest
 Is he who can, by help of grace, enthrone
 The peace of God within his single breast!

2.38

ELIZABETH

HAIL, Virgin Queen! o'er many an envious bar
 Triumphant, snatched from many a treacherous wile!
 All hail, sage Lady, whom a grateful Isle
 Hath blest, respiring from that dismal war
 Stilled by thy voice! But quickly from afar 5
 Defiance breathes with more malignant aim;
 And alien storms with home-bred ferments claim
 Portentous fellowship. Her silver car,
 By sleepless prudence ruled, glides slowly on;
 Unhurt by violence, from menaced taint 10
 Emerging pure, and seemingly more bright:
 Ah! wherefore yields it to a foul constraint
 Black as the clouds its beams dispersed, while shone,
 By men and angels blest, the glorious light?

2.39

EMINENT REFORMERS

METHINKS that I could trip o'er heaviest soil,
 Light as a buoyant bark from wave to wave,
 Were mine the trusty staff that JEWEL gave
 To youthful HOOKER, in familiar style
 The gift exalting, and with playful smile: 5
 For thus equipped, and bearing on his head
 The Donor's farewell blessing, can he dread
 Tempest, or length of way, or weight of toil?—
 More sweet than odours caught by him who sails
 Near spicy shores of Araby the blest, 10
 A thousand times more exquisitely sweet,
 The freight of holy feeling which we meet,
 In thoughtful moments, wafted by the gales
 From fields where good men walk, or bowers wherein they rest.

2.40

THE SAME

HOLY and heavenly Spirits as they are,
 Spotless in life, and eloquent as wise,
 With what entire affection do they prize
 Their Church reformed! labouring with earnest care
 To baffle all that may her strength impair; 5
 That Church, the unperverted Gospel's seat;
 In their afflictions a divine retreat;
 Source of their liveliest hope, and tenderest prayer!—
 The truth exploring with an equal mind,
 In doctrine and communion they have sought 10
 Firmly between the two extremes to steer;
 But theirs the wise man's ordinary lot,
 To trace right courses for the stubborn blind,
 And prophesy to ears that will not hear.

2.41

DISTRACTIONS

MEN, who have ceased to reverence, soon defy
 Their forefathers; lo! sects are formed, and split
 With morbid restlessness;—the ecstatic fit
 Spreads wide; though special mysteries multiply,
The Saints must govern, is their common cry; 5
 And so they labour, deeming Holy Writ
 Disgraced by aught that seems content to sit
 Beneath the roof of settled Modesty.
 The Romanist exults; fresh hope he draws
 From the confusion, craftily incites 10
 The overweening, personates the mad—
 To heap disgust upon the worthier Cause:
 Totters the Throne; the new-born Church is sad,
 For every wave against her peace unites.

2.42

GUNPOWDER PLOT

FEAR hath a hundred eyes that all agree
 To plague her beating heart; and there is one
 (Nor idlest that!) which holds communion
 With things that were not, yet were *meant* to be.
 Aghast within its gloomy cavity 5
 That eye (which sees as if fulfilled and done
 Crimes that might stop the motion of the sun)
 Beholds the horrible catastrophe
 Of an assembled Senate unredeemed
 From subterraneous Treason's darkling power: 10
 Merciless act of sorrow infinite!
 Worse than the product of that dismal night,
 When gushing, copious as a thunder-shower,
 The blood of Huguenots through Paris streamed.

2.43

 ILLUSTRATION: THE JUNG-FRAU AND THE FALL OF THE
 RHINE NEAR SCHAFFHAUSEN

THE Virgin-Mountain, wearing like a Queen
 A brilliant crown of everlasting snow,
 Sheds ruin from her sides; and men below
 Wonder that aught of aspect so serene
 Can link with desolation. Smooth and green, 5
 And seeming, at a little distance, slow,
 The waters of the Rhine; but on they go
 Fretting and whitening, keener and more keen;
 Till madness seizes on the whole wide Flood,
 Turned to a fearful Thing whose nostrils breathe 10
 Blasts of tempestuous smoke—wherewith he tries
 To hide himself, but only magnifies;
 And doth in more conspicuous torment writhe,
 Deafening the region in his ireful mood.

2.44

TROUBLES OF CHARLES THE FIRST

EVEN such the contrast that, where'er we move,
 To the mind's eye Religion doth present;
 Now with her own deep quietness content;
 Then, like the mountain, thundering from above
 Against the ancient pine-trees of the grove 5
 And the Land's humblest comforts. Now her mood
 Recalls the transformation of the flood,
 Whose rage the gentle skies in vain reprove,
 Earth cannot check. O terrible excess
 Of headstrong will! Can this be Piety? 10
 No—some fierce Maniac hath usurped her name;
 And scourges England struggling to be free:
 Her peace destroyed! her hopes a wilderness!
 Her blessings cursed—her glory turned to shame!

2.45

LAUD

PREJUDGED by foes determined not to spare,
 An old weak Man for vengeance thrown aside,
 Laud, 'in the painful art of dying' tried,
 (Like a poor bird entangled in a snare
 Whose heart still flutters, though his wings forbear 5
 To stir in useless struggle) hath relied
 On hope that conscious innocence supplied,
 And in his prison breathes celestial air.
 Why tarries then thy chariot? Wherefore stay,
 O Death! the ensanguined yet triumphant wheels, 10
 Which thou prepar'st, full often, to convey
 (What time a State with madding faction reels)
 The Saint or Patriot to the world that heals
 All wounds, all perturbations doth allay?

2.46

AFFLICTIONS OF ENGLAND

HARP! couldst thou venture, on thy boldest string,
 The faintest note to echo which the blast
 Caught from the hand of Moses as it passed
 O'er Sinai's top, or from the Shepherd-king,
 Early awake, by Siloa's brook, to sing 5
 Of dread Jehovah; then, should wood and waste
 Hear also of that name, and mercy cast
 Off to the mountains, like a covering
 Of which the Lord was weary. Weep, oh! weep,
 Weep with the good, beholding King and Priest 10
 Despised by that stern God to whom they raise
 Their suppliant hands; but holy is the feast
 He keepeth; like the firmament his ways:
 His statutes like the chambers of the deep.

PART 3

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE PRESENT TIMES

3.1

I SAW the figure of a lovely Maid
 Seated alone beneath a darksome tree,
 Whose fondly-overhanging canopy
 Set off her brightness with a pleasing shade.
 No Spirit was she; *that* my heart betrayed, 5
 For she was one I loved exceedingly;
 But while I gazed in tender reverie
 (Or was it sleep that with my Fancy played?)
 The bright corporeal presence—form and face—
 Remaining still distinct grew thin and rare, 10
 Like sunny mist;—at length the golden hair,
 Shape, limbs, and heavenly features, keeping pace
 Each with the other in a lingering race
 Of dissolution, melted into air.

3.2

PATRIOTIC SYMPATHIES

LAST night, without a voice, that Vision spake
 Fear to my Soul, and sadness which might seem
 Wholly dissevered from our present theme;
 Yet, my belovèd Country! I partake
 Of kindred agitations for thy sake; 5
 Thou, too, dost visit oft my midnight dream;
 Thy glory meets me with the earliest beam
 Of light, which tells that Morning is awake.
 If aught impair thy beauty or destroy,
 Or but forbode destruction, I deplore 10
 With filial love the sad vicissitude;
 If thou hast fallen, and righteous Heaven restore
 The prostrate, then my spring-time is renewed,
 And sorrow bartered for exceeding joy.

3.3

CHARLES THE SECOND

WHO comes—with rapture greeted, and caressed
 With frantic love—his kingdom to regain?
 Him Virtue's Nurse, Adversity, in vain
 Received, and fostered in her iron breast:
 For all she taught of hardest and of best, 5
 Or would have taught, by discipline of pain
 And long privation, now dissolves amain,
 Or is remembered only to give zest
 To wantonness.—Away, Circean revels!
 But for what gain? if England soon must sink 10
 Into a gulf which all distinction levels—
 That bigotry may swallow the good name,
 And, with that draught, the life-blood: misery, shame,
 By Poets loathed; from which Historians shrink!

3.4

LATITUDINARIANISM

YET Truth is keenly sought for, and the wind
 Charged with rich words poured out in thought's defence;
 Whether the Church inspire that eloquence,
 Or a Platonic Piety confined
 To the sole temple of the inward mind; 5
 And One there is who builds immortal lays,
 Though doomed to tread in solitary ways,
 Darkness before and danger's voice behind;
 Yet not alone, nor helpless to repel
 Sad thoughts; for from above the starry sphere 10
 Come secrets, whispered nightly to his ear;
 And the pure spirit of celestial light
 Shines through his soul—'that he may see and tell
 Of things invisible to mortal sight.'

3.5

WALTON'S BOOK OF LIVES

THERE are no colours in the fairest sky
 So fair as these. The feather, whence the pen
 Was shaped that traced the lives of these good men,
 Dropped from an Angel's wing. With moistened eye
 We read of faith and purest charity 5
 In Statesman, Priest, and humble Citizen:
 O could we copy their mild virtues, then
 What joy to live, what blessedness to die!
 Methinks their very names shine still and bright;
 Apart—like glow-worms on a summer night; 10
 Or lonely tapers when from far they fling
 A guiding ray; or seen—like stars on high,
 Satellites burning in a lucid ring
 Around meek Walton's heavenly memory.

3.6

CLERICAL INTEGRITY

NOR shall the eternal roll of praise reject
 Those Unconforming; whom one rigorous day
 Drives from their Cures, a voluntary prey
 To poverty, and grief, and disrespect,
 And some to want—as if by tempests wrecked 5
 On a wild coast; how destitute! did They
 Feel not that Conscience never can betray,
 That peace of mind is Virtue's sure effect.
 Their altars they forego, their homes they quit,
 Fields which they love, and paths they daily trod, 10
 And cast the future upon Providence;
 As men the dictate of whose inward sense
 Outweighs the world; whom self-deceiving wit
 Lures not from what they deem the cause of God.

3.7

PERSECUTION OF THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS

WHEN Alpine Vales threw forth a suppliant cry,
 The majesty of England interposed
 And the sword stopped; the bleeding wounds were closed;
 And Faith preserved her ancient purity.
 How little boots that precedent of good, 5
 Scorned or forgotten, Thou canst testify,
 For England's shame, O Sister Realm! from wood,
 Mountain, and moor, and crowded street, where lie
 The headless martyrs of the Covenant,
 Slain by Compatriot-protestants that draw 10
 From councils senseless as intolerant
 Their warrant. Bodies fall by wild sword-law;
 But who would force the Soul, tilts with a straw
 Against a Champion cased in adamant.

3.8

ACQUITTAL OF THE BISHOPS

A VOICE, from long-expecting thousands sent,
 Shatters the air, and troubles tower and spire;
 For Justice hath absolved the innocent,
 And Tyranny is balked of her desire:
 Up, down, the busy Thames—rapid as fire 5
 Coursing a train of gunpowder—it went,
 And transport finds in every street a vent,
 Till the whole City rings like one vast quire.
 The Fathers urge the People to be still,
 With outstretched hands and earnest speech—in vain! 10
 Yea, many, haply wont to entertain
 Small reverence for the mitre's offices,
 And to Religion's self no friendly will,
 A Prelate's blessing ask on bended knees.

3.9

WILLIAM THE THIRD

CALM as an under-current, strong to draw
 Millions of waves into itself, and run,
 From sea to sea, impervious to the sun
 And ploughing storm, the spirit of Nassau
 Swerves not, (how blest if by religious awe 5
 Swayed, and thereby enabled to contend
 With the wide world's commotions) from its end
 Swerves not—diverted by a casual law.
 Had mortal action e'er a nobler scope?
 The Hero comes to liberate, not defy; 10
 And, while he marches on with steadfast hope,
 Conqueror beloved! expected anxiously!
 The vacillating Bondman of the Pope
 Shrinks from the verdict of his steadfast eye.

3.10

OBLIGATIONS OF CIVIL TO RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

UNGRATEFUL Country, if thou e'er forget
 The sons who for thy civil rights have bled!
 How, like a Roman, Sidney bowed his head,
 And Russell's milder blood the scaffold wet;
 But these had fallen for profitless regret 5
 Had not thy holy Church her champions bred,
 And claims from other worlds inspirited
 The star of Liberty to rise. Nor yet
 (Grave this within thy heart!) if spiritual things
 Be lost, through apathy, or scorn, or fear, 10
 Shalt thou thy humbler franchises support,
 However hardly won or justly dear:
 What came from heaven to heaven by nature clings,
 And, if dissevered thence, its course is short.

3.11

SACHEVEREL

A SUDDEN conflict rises from the swell
 Of a proud slavery met by tenets strained
 In Liberty's behalf. Fears, true or feigned,
 Spread through all ranks; and lo! the Sentinel
 Who loudest rang his pulpit 'larum bell, 5
 Stands at the Bar, absolved by female eyes
 Mingling their glances with grave flatteries
 Lavished on *Him*—that England may rebel
 Against her ancient virtue. HIGH and LOW,
 Watchwords of Party, on all tongues are rife; 10
 As if a Church, though sprung from heaven, must owe
 To opposites and fierce extremes her life,—
 Not to the golden mean, and quiet flow
 Of truths that soften hatred, temper strife.

3.12

DOWN a swift Stream, thus far, a bold design
 Have we pursued, with livelier stir of heart
 Than his who sees, borne forward by the Rhine,
 The living landscapes greet him, and depart;
 Sees spires fast sinking—up again to start! 5
 And strives the towers to number, that recline
 O'er the dark steeps, or on the horizon line
 Striding with shattered crests his eye athwart.
 So have we hurried on with troubled pleasure:
 Henceforth, as on the bosom of a stream 10
 That slackens, and spreads wide a watery gleam,
 We, nothing loth a lingering course to measure,
 May gather up our thoughts, and mark at leisure
 How widely spread the interests of our theme.

3.13

ASPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA

I THE PILGRIM FATHERS

WELL worthy to be magnified are they
 Who, with sad hearts, of friends and country took
 A last farewell, their loved abodes forsook,
 And hallowed ground in which their fathers lay;
 Then to the new-found World explored their way, 5
 That so a Church, unforced, uncalled to brook
 Ritual restraints, within some sheltering nook
 Her Lord might worship and his word obey
 In freedom. Men they were who could not bend;
 Blest Pilgrims, surely, as they took for guide 10
 A will by sovereign Conscience sanctified;
 Blest while their Spirits from the woods ascend
 Along a Galaxy that knows no end,
 But in His glory who for Sinners died.

3.14

II CONTINUED

FROM Rite and Ordinance abused they fled
 To Wilds where both were utterly unknown;
 But not to them had Providence foreshown
 What benefits are missed, what evils bred,
 In worship neither raised nor limited 5
 Save by Self-will. Lo! from that distant shore,
 For Rite and Ordinance, Piety is led
 Back to the Land those Pilgrims left of yore,
 Led by her own free choice. So Truth and Love
 By Conscience governed do their steps retrace.— 10
 Fathers! your Virtues, such the power of grace,
 Their spirit, in your Children, thus approve.
 Transcendent over time, unbound by place,
 Concord and Charity in circles move.

3.15

III CONCLUDED: AMERICAN EPISCOPACY

PATRIOTS informed with Apostolic light
 Were they, who, when their Country had been freed,
 Bowing with reverence to the ancient creed,
 Fixed on the frame of England's Church their sight,
 And strove in filial love to reunite 5
 What force had severed. Thence they fetched the seed
 Of Christian unity, and won a meed
 Of praise from Heaven. To Thee, O saintly WHITE,
 Patriarch of a wide-spreading family,
 Remotest lands and unborn times shall turn, 10
 Whether they would restore or build—to Thee,
 As one who rightly taught how zeal should burn,
 As one who drew from out Faith's holiest urn
 The purest stream of patient Energy.

3.16

BISHOPS and Priests, blessèd are ye, if deep
 (As yours above all offices is high)
 Deep in your hearts the sense of duty lie;
 Charged as ye are by Christ to feed and keep
 From wolves your portion of His chosen sheep: 5
 Labouring as ever in your Master's sight,
 Making your hardest task your best delight,
 What perfect glory ye in Heaven shall reap!—
 But, in the solemn Office which ye sought
 And undertook premonished, if unsound 10
 Your practice prove, faithless though but in thought,
 Bishops and Priests, think what a gulf profound
 Awaits you then, if they were rightly taught
 Who framed the Ordinance by your lives disowned!

3.17

PLACES OF WORSHIP

As star that shines dependent upon star
 Is to the sky while we look up in love;
 As to the deep fair ships which though they move
 Seem fixed, to eyes that watch them from afar;
 As to the sandy desert fountains are, 5
 With palm-groves shaded at wide intervals,
 Whose fruit around the sun-burnt Native falls
 Of roving tired or desultory war—
 Such to this British Isle her Christian Fanes,
 Each linked to each for kindred services; 10
 Her Spires, her Steeple-towers with glittering vanes
 Far-kenned, her Chapels lurking among trees,
 Where a few villagers on bended knees
 Find solace which a busy world disdains.

3.18

PASTORAL CHARACTER

A GENIAL hearth, a hospitable board,
 And a refined rusticity, belong
 To the neat mansion, where, his flock among,
 The learnèd Pastor dwells, their watchful Lord.
 Though meek and patient as a sheathèd sword; 5
 Though pride's least lurking thought appear a wrong
 To human kind; though peace be on his tongue,
 Gentleness in his heart—can earth afford
 Such genuine state, pre-eminence so free, 10
 As when, arrayed in Christ's authority,
 He from the pulpit lifts his awful hand;
 Conjures, implores, and labours all he can
 For re-subjecting to divine command
 The stubborn spirit of rebellious man?

3.19

THE LITURGY

YES, if the intensities of hope and fear
 Attract us still, and passionate exercise
 Of lofty thoughts, the way before us lies
 Distinct with signs, through which in set career,
 As through a zodiac, moves the ritual year 5
 Of England's Church; stupendous mysteries!
 Which whoso travels in her bosom eyes,
 As he approaches them, with solemn cheer.
 Upon that circle traced from sacred story
 We only dare to cast a transient glance, 10
 Trusting in hope that Others may advance
 With mind intent upon the King of Glory,
 From his mild advent till his countenance
 Shall dissipate the seas and mountains hoary.

3.20

BAPTISM

DEAR be the Church, that, watching o'er the needs
 Of Infancy, provides a timely shower
 Whose virtue changes to a Christian Flower
 A Growth from sinful Nature's bed of weeds!—

Fitliest beneath the sacred roof proceeds

5

The ministration; while parental Love

Looks on, and Grace descendeth from above

As the high service pledges now, now pleads.

There, should vain thoughts outspread their wings and fly
 To meet the coming hours of festal mirth,

10

The tombs—which hear and answer that brief cry,

The Infant's notice of his second birth—

Recall the wandering Soul to sympathy

With what man hopes from Heaven, yet fears from Earth.

3.21

SPONSORS

FATHER! to God himself we cannot give

A holier name! then lightly do not bear

Both names conjoined, but of thy spiritual care

Be duly mindful: still more sensitive

Do Thou, in truth a second Mother, strive

5

Against disheartening custom, that by Thee

Watched, and with love and pious industry

Tended at need, the adopted Plant may thrive

For everlasting bloom. Benign and pure

This Ordinance, whether loss it would supply,

10

Prevent omission, help deficiency,

Or seek to make assurance doubly sure.

Shame if the consecrated Vow be found

An idle form, the Word an empty sound!

3.22

CATECHISING

FROM Little down to Least, in due degree,
 Around the Pastor, each in new-wrought vest,
 Each with a vernal posy at his breast,
 We stood, a trembling, earnest Company!
 With low soft murmur, like a distant bee, 5
 Some spake, by thought-perplexing fears betrayed;
 And some a bold unerring answer made:
 How fluttered then thy anxious heart for me,
 Belovèd Mother! Thou whose happy hand
 Had bound the flowers I wore, with faithful tie: 10
 Sweet flowers! at whose inaudible command
 Her countenance, phantom-like, doth re-appear:
 O lost too early for the frequent tear,
 And ill requited by this heartfelt sigh!

3.23

CONFIRMATION

THE Young-ones gathered in from hill and dale,
 With holiday delight on every brow:
 'Tis past away; far other thoughts prevail;
 For they are taking the baptismal Vow
 Upon their conscious selves; their own lips speak 5
 The solemn promise. Strongest sinews fail,
 And many a blooming, many a lovely, cheek
 Under the holy fear of God turns pale;
 While on each head his lawn-robed servant lays
 An apostolic hand, and with prayer seals 10
 The Covenant. The Omnipotent will raise
 Their feeble Souls; and bear with *his* regrets,
 Who, looking round the fair assemblage, feels
 That ere the Sun goes down their childhood sets.

3.24

CONFIRMATION CONTINUED

I SAW a Mother's eye intensely bent
 Upon a Maiden trembling as she knelt;
 In and for whom the pious Mother felt
 Things that we judge of by a light too faint:
 Tell, if ye may, some star-crowned Muse, or Saint! 5
 Tell what rushed in, from what she was relieved—
 Then, when her Child the hallowing touch received,
 And such vibration through the Mother went
 That tears burst forth amain. Did gleams appear?
 Opened a vision of that blissful place 10
 Where dwells a Sister-child? And was power given
 Part of her lost One's glory back to trace
 Even to this Rite? For thus *She* knelt, and, ere
 The summer-leaf had faded, passed to Heaven.

3.25

SACRAMENT

By chain yet stronger must the Soul be tied:
 One duty mote, last stage of this ascent,
 Brings to thy food, mysterious Sacrament!
 The Offspring, haply at the Parent's side;
 But not till They, with all that do abide 5
 In Heaven, have lifted up their hearts to laud
 And magnify the glorious name of God,
 Fountain of Grace, whose Son for sinners died.
 Ye, who have duly weighed the summons, pause
 No longer; ye, whom to the saving rite 10
 The Altar calls; come early under laws
 That can secure for you a path of light
 Through gloomiest shade; put on (nor dread its weight)
 Armour divine, and conquer in your cause!

3.26

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

THE Vested Priest before the Altar stands;
 Approach, come gladly, ye prepared, in sight
 Of God and chosen friends, your troth to plight
 With the symbolic ring, and willing hands
 Solemnly joined. Now sanctify the bands 5
 O Father!—to the Espoused thy blessing give,
 That mutually assisted they may live
 Obedient, as here taught, to thy commands.
 So prays the Church, to consecrate a Vow
 'The which would endless matrimony make'; 10
 Union that shadows forth and doth partake
 A mystery potent human love to endow
 With heavenly, each more prized for the other's sake;
 Weep not, meek Bride! uplift thy timid brow.

3.27

THANKSGIVING AFTER CHILDBIRTH

WOMAN! the Power who left His throne on high,
 And deigned to wear the robe of flesh we wear,
 The Power that through the straits of Infancy
 Did pass dependent on maternal care,
 His own humanity with Thee will share, 5
 Pleased with the thanks that in His People's eye
 Thou offerest up for safe Delivery
 From Childbirth's perilous throes. And should the Heir
 Of thy fond hopes hereafter walk inclined
 To courses fit to make a mother rue 10
 That ever he was born, a glance of mind
 Cast upon this observance may renew
 A better will; and, in the imagined view
 Of thee thus kneeling, safety he may find.

3.28

VISITATION OF THE SICK

THE Sabbath bells renew the inviting peal;
 Glad music! yet there be that, worn with pain
 And sickness, listen where they long have lain,
 In sadness listen. With maternal zeal
 Inspired, the Church sends ministers to kneel 5
 Beside the afflicted; to sustain with prayer,
 And soothe the heart confession hath laid bare—
 That pardon, from God's throne, may set its seal
 On a true Penitent. When breath departs
 From one disburthened so, so comforted, 10
 His Spirit Angels greet; and ours be hope
 That, if the Sufferer rise from his sick-bed,
 Hence he will gain a firmer mind, to cope
 With a bad world, and foil the Tempter's arts.

3.29

THE COMMINATION SERVICE

SHUN not this rite, neglected, yea abhorred,
 By some of unreflecting mind, as calling
 Man to curse man, (thought monstrous and appalling).
 Go thou and hear the threatenings of the *Lord*;
 Listening within his Temple see his sword 5
 Unsheathed in wrath to strike the offender's head,
 Thy own, if sorrow for thy sin be dead,
 Guilt unrepented, pardon unimplored.
 Two aspects bears Truth needful for salvation;
 Who knows not *that?*—yet would this delicate age 10
 Look only on the Gospel's brighter page:
 Let light and dark duly our thoughts employ;
 So shall the fearful words of Commination
 Yield timely fruit of peace and love and joy.

3.30

FORMS OF PRAYER AT SEA

To kneeling Worshippers no earthly floor
 Gives holier invitation than the deck
 Of a storm-shattered Vessel saved from Wreck
 (When all that Man could do availed no more)
 By Him who raised the Tempest and restrains: 5
 Happy the crew who this have felt, and pour
 Forth for His mercy, as the Church ordains,
 Solemn thanksgiving. Nor will *they* implore
 In vain who, for a rightful cause, give breath
 To words the Church prescribes aiding the lip 10
 For the heart's sake, ere ship with hostile ship
 Encounters, armed for work of pain and death.
 Suppliants! the God to whom your cause ye trust
 Will listen, and ye know that He is just.

3.31

FUNERAL SERVICE

FROM the Baptismal hour, through weal and woe,
 The Church extends her care to thought and deed;
 Nor quits the Body when the Soul is freed,
 The mortal weight cast off to be laid low.
 Blest Rite for him who hears in faith, 'I know 5
 That my Redeemer liveth,'—hears each word
 That follows—striking on some kindred chord
 Deep in the thankful heart;—yet tears will flow.
 Man is as grass that springeth up at morn,
 Grows green, and is cut down and withereth 10
 Ere nightfall—truth that well may claim a sigh,
 Its natural echo; but hope comes reborn
 At Jesu's bidding. We rejoice, 'O Death
 Where is thy Sting?—O Grave where is thy Victory?'

3.32

RURAL CEREMONY

CLOSING the sacred Book which long has fed
 Our meditations, give we to a day
 Of annual joy one tributary lay;
 This day, when, forth by rustic music led,
 The village Children, while the sky is red, 5
 With evening lights, advance in long array
 Through the still church-yard, each with garland gay,
 That, carried sceptre-like, o'ertops the head
 Of the proud Bearer. To the wide church-door,
 Charged with these offerings which their fathers bore 10
 For decoration in the Papal time,
 The innocent Procession softly moves:—
 The spirit of Laud is pleased in heaven's pure clime,
 And Hooker's voice the spectacle approves!

3.33

REGRETS

WOULD that our scrupulous Sires had dared to leave
 Less scanty measure of those graceful rites
 And usages, whose due return invites
 A stir of mind too natural to deceive;
 Giving to Memory help when she would weave 5
 A crown for Hope!—I dread the boasted lights
 That all too often are but fiery blights,
 Killing the bud o'er which in vain we grieve.
 Go, seek, when Christmas snows discomfort bring,
 The counter Spirit found in some gay church 10
 Green with fresh holly, every pew a perch
 In which the linnet or the thrush might sing,
 Merry and loud and safe from prying search,
 Strains offered only to the genial Spring.

3.34

MUTABILITY

FROM low to high doth dissolution climb,
 And sink from high to low, along a scale
 Of awful notes, whose concord shall not fail;
 A musical but melancholy chime,
 Which they can hear who meddle not with crime, 5
 Nor avarice, nor over-anxious care.
 Truth fails not; but her outward forms that bear
 The longest date do melt like frosty rime,
 That in the morning whitened hill and plain
 And is no more; drop like the tower sublime 10
 Of yesterday, which royally did wear
 His crown of weeds, but could not even sustain
 Some casual shout that broke the silent air,
 Or the unimaginable touch of Time.

3.35

OLD ABBEYS

MONASTIC Domes! following my downward way,
 Untouched by due regret I marked your fall!
 Now, ruin, beauty, ancient stillness, all
 Dispose to judgments temperate as we lay
 On our past selves in life's declining day: 5
 For as, by discipline of Time made wise,
 We learn to tolerate the infirmities
 And faults of others—gently as he may,
 So with our own the mild Instructor deals,
 Teaching us to forget them or forgive. 10
 Perversely curious, then, for hidden ill
 Why should we break Time's charitable seals?
 Once ye were holy, ye are holy still;
 Your spirit freely let me drink, and live!

3.36

EMIGRANT FRENCH CLERGY

EVEN while I speak, the sacred roofs of France
 Are shattered into dust; and self-exiled
 From altars threatened, levelled, or defiled,
 Wander the Ministers of God, as chance
 Opens a way for life, or consonance 5
 Of faith invites. More welcome to no land
 The fugitives than to the British strand,
 Where priest and layman with the vigilance
 Of true compassion greet them. Creed and test
 Vanish before the unreserved embrace 10
 Of catholic humanity:—distrest
 They came,—and, while the moral tempest roars
 Throughout the Country they have left, our shores
 Give to their Faith a fearless resting-place.

3.37

CONGRATULATION

THUS all things lead to Charity, secured
 BY THEM who blessed the soft and happy gale
 That landward urged the great Deliverer's sail,
 Till in the sunny bay his fleet was moored!
 Propitious hour! had we, like them, endured 5
 Sore stress of apprehension, with a mind
 Sickened by injuries, dreading worse designed,
 From month to month trembling and unassured,
 How had we then rejoiced! But we have felt,
 As a loved substance, their futurity: 10
 Good, which they dared not hope for, we have seen;
 A State whose generous will through earth is dealt;
 A State—which, balancing herself between
 Licence and slavish order, dares be free.

3.38

NEW CHURCHES

BUT liberty, and triumphs on the Main,
 And laurelled armies, not to be withstood—
 What serve they? if, on transitory good
 Intent, and sedulous of abject gain,
 The State (ah, surely not preserved in vain!) 5
 Forbear to shape due channels which the Flood
 Of sacred truth may enter—till it brood
 O'er the wide realm, as o'er the Egyptian plain
 The all-sustaining Nile. No more—the time
 Is conscious of her want; through England's bounds, 10
 In rival haste, the wished-for Temples rise!
 I hear their sabbath bells' harmonious chime
 Float on the breeze—the heavenliest of all sounds
 That vale or hill prolongs or multiplies!

3.39

CHURCH TO BE ERECTED

BE this the chosen site; the virgin sod,
 Moistened from age to age by dewy eve,
 Shall disappear, and grateful earth receive
 The corner-stone from hands that build to God.
 Yon reverend hawthorns, hardened to the rod 5
 Of winter storms, yet budding cheerfully;
 Those forest oaks of Druid memory,
 Shall long survive, to shelter the Abode
 Of genuine Faith. Where, haply, 'mid this band
 Of daisies, shepherds sate of yore and wove 10
 May-garlands, there let the holy altar stand
 For kneeling adoration;—while—above;
 Broods, visibly portrayed, the mystic Dove,
 That shall protect from blasphemy the Land.

3.40

CONTINUED

MINE ear has rung, my spirit sunk subdued,
 Sharing the strong emotion of the crowd,
 When each pale brow to dread hosannas bowed
 While clouds of incense mounting veiled the rood,
 That glimmered like a pine-tree dimly viewed 5
 Through Alpine vapours. Such appalling rite
 Our Church prepares not, trusting to the might
 Of simple truth with grace divine imbued;
 Yet will we not conceal the precious Cross,
 Like men ashamed: the Sun with his first smile 10
 Shall greet that symbol crowning the low Pile:
 And the fresh air of incense-breathing morn
 Shall wooingly embrace it; and green moss
 Creep round its arms through centuries unborn.

3.41

NEW CHURCH-YARD

THE encircling ground, in native turf arrayed,
 Is now by solemn consecration given
 To social interests, and to favouring Heaven;
 And where the rugged colts their gambols played,
 And wild deer bounded through the forest glade, 5
 Unchecked as when by merry Outlaw driven,
 Shall hymns of praise resound at morn and even;
 And soon, full soon, the lonely Sexton's spade
 Shall wound the tender sod. Encincture small,
 But infinite its grasp of weal and woe! 10
 Hopes, fears, in never-ending ebb and flow;—
 The spousal trembling, and the 'dust to dust,'
 The prayers, the contrite struggle, and the trust
 That to the Almighty Father looks through all.

3.42

CATHEDRALS, ETC.

OPEN your gates, ye everlasting Piles!
 Types of the spiritual Church which God hath reared;
 Not loth we quit the newly-hallowed sward
 And humble altar, 'mid your sumptuous aisles
 To kneel, or thrid your intricate defiles, 5
 Or down the nave to pace in motion slow;
 Watching, with upward eye, the tall tower grow
 And mount, at every step, with living wiles
 Instinct—to rouse the heart and lead the will
 By a bright ladder to the world above. 10
 Open your gates, ye Monuments of love
 Divine! thou Lincoln, on thy sovereign hill!
 Thou, stately York! and Ye, whose splendours cheer
 Isis and Cam, to patient Science dear!

3.43

INSIDE OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE

TAX not the royal Saint with vain expense,
 With ill-matched aims the Architect who planned—
 Albeit labouring for a scanty band
 Of white-robed Scholars only—this immense
 And glorious Work of fine intelligence!
 Give all thou canst; high Heaven rejects the lore
 —Of nicely-calculated less or more;
 So deemed the man who fashioned for the sense
 These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof
 Self-poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells,
 Where light and shade repose, where music dwells
 Lingering—and wandering on as loth to die;
 Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
 That they were born for immortality.

3.44

THE SAME

WHAT awful perspective! while from our sight
 With gradual stealth the lateral windows hide
 Their Portraits, their stone-work glimmers, dyed
 In the soft chequerings of a sleepy light.
 Martyr, or King, or sainted Eremite, 5
 Whoe'er ye be, that thus, yourselves unseen,
 Imbue your prison-bars with solemn sheen,
 Shine on, until ye fade with coming Night!—
 But, from the arms of silence—list! O list!
 The music bursteth into second life; 10
 The notes luxuriate, every stone is kissed
 By sound, or ghost of sound, in mazy strife;
 Heart-thrilling strains, that cast, before the eye
 Of the devout, a veil of ecstasy!

3.45

CONTINUED

THEY dreamt not of a perishable home
 Who thus could build. Be mine, in hours of fear
 Or grovelling thought, to seek a refuge here;
 Or through the aisles of Westminster to roam;
 Where bubbles burst, and folly's dancing foam 5
 Melts, if it cross the threshold; where the wreath
 Of awe-struck wisdom droops: or let my path
 Lead to that younger Pile, whose sky-like dome
 Hath typified by reach of daring art
 Infinity's embrace; whose guardian crest, 10
 The silent Cross, among the stars shall spread
 As now, when She hath also seen her breast
 Filled with mementos, satiate with its part
 Of grateful England's overflowing Dead.

3.46

EJACULATION

GLORY to God! and to the Power who came
 In filial duty, clothed with love divine,
 That made His human tabernacle shine
 Like Ocean burning with purpureal flame;
 Or like the Alpine Mount, that takes its name 5
 From roseate hues, far kenned at morn and even,
 In hours of peace, or when the storm is driven
 Along the nether region's rugged frame!
 Earth prompts—Heaven urges; let us seek the light,
 Studious of that pure intercourse begun 10
 When first our infant brows their lustre won;
 So, like the Mountain, may we grow more bright
 From unimpeded commerce with the Sun,
 At the approach of all-involving night.

3.47

CONCLUSION

WHY sleeps the future, as a snake enrolled,
 Coil within coil, at noon-tide? For the WORD
 Yields, if with unpresumptuous faith explored,
 Power at whose touch the sluggard shall unfold
 His drowsy rings. Look forth!—that Stream behold, 5
 THAT STREAM upon whose bosom we have passed
 Floating at ease while nations have effaced
 Nations, and Death has gathered to his fold
 Long lines of mighty Kings—look forth, my Soul!
 (Nor in this vision be thou slow to trust) 10
 The living Waters, less and less by guilt
 Stained and polluted, brighten as they roll,
 Till they have reached the eternal City—built
 For the perfected Spirits of the just!

VARIANT READINGS

I have personally examined the readings in the following editions: 1822 (*Memorials of a Tour on the Continent, 1820, and Ecclesiastical Sketches*), 1827, 1832, 1835 (*Yarrow Revisited*), 1837, 1838, 1840, 1841, 1842 (*Poems, Chiefly of Early and Late Years*), 1843, 1845, 1846, 1850.

The reading first given is the original reading of the text.

When a line has been subject to change, the whole line is quoted.

At the left of each line is given its number in the sonnet.

At the left of, and preceding, the first line quoted is given the date of the original reading of the text.

At the right of each line is given the date of the new reading, which is not quoted but is understood to be the final reading of 1850, unless the date is starred.

If the date is starred, one asterisk indicates a single intermediate reading; a double asterisk indicates a second intermediate reading.

Below all the original readings of each sonnet are the intermediate readings of that sonnet; the final readings must be sought in the text of the present edition, pp. 120-85.

Changes in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are not noted.

I.1

- 1822.1 I, who descended with glad step to chase (until 1827)
2 Cerulean Duddon from his cloud-fed spring, (until 1850)
3 And of my wild Companion dared to sing, (until 1827)
4 In verse that moved with strictly-measured pace;
(until 1827)
7 'Till the checked Torrent, fiercely combating, (until 1827)
8 In victory found her natural resting-place; (until 1827)
13 Where, for delight of him who tracks its course, (until 1837)

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 1.1, p. 81.
In the edition of 1857 line 2 read as in the editions of 1822-1845.

I.2

The text has remained unchanged since 1822. For the early MS. readings, see the reproduction of F 1.2, pp. 81-2.

I.3

- 1822.2 As Menai's foam; and towards the mystic ring (until 1827)
6 That, in the lapse of seasons, hath crept o'er (until 1827)

I.4

1822. Title *Druidical Excommunication, &c.* (until 1827)

12 And yon thick woods maintain the primal truth,
(until 1827)

13 Debased by many a superstitious form, (until 1827)

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 1.4, p. 105.

I.5

1822.5 Of silently departed ages crossed; (until 1827)

9 Nor these, nor monuments of eldest fame, (until 1841)

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 1.5, p. 82.

I.6

1822.7 Some pierced beneath the unavailing shield (until *1827)

*1827.7 Some pierced beneath the ineffectual shield (until 1838)

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 1.6, p. 83.

I.7

The text has remained unchanged since 1822. For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 1.7, p. 101.

I.8

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

I.9

1822.5 Lifting towards high Heaven her fiery brand, (until 1827)

I.10

1822.3 The spirit of Caractacus defends (until 1837)

4 The Patriots, animates their glorious task;— (until 1837)

I.11

1822.11 Intent, as fields and woods have given them birth,
(until 1827)

12 To build their savage fortunes only there; (until 1827)

13 Witness the foss, the barrow, and the girth (until 1827)

14 Of many a long-drawn rampart, green and bare!
(until 1827)

I.12

1822.10 From their known course, or pass away like steam;
(until 1827)

I.13

- 1822.4 Where Tiber's stream the glorious City laves; (until 1827)
 6 His wing who seemeth lovelier in Heaven's eye (until 1837)
 14 Sweet Hallelujahs to the eternal King! (until 1827)

I.14

The text has remained unchanged since 1822, except for *1838.

- *1838.8 Chanting in barbarous ears a holy prayer. (until 1840)
 9 Rich conquest over minds which they would free (until 1840)
 10 Awaits their coming:—the tempestuous sea (until 1840)

I.15

- 1822.10 Towards the Truths this Delegate propounds,—
 (until 1832)

I.16

- 1822.2 "That, stealing in while by the fire you sit (until 1837)
 3 "Housed with rejoicing Friends, is seen to flit (until 1837)
 4 "Safe from the storm, in comfort tarrying. (until 1837)

For the early MS. readings, see the reproduction of F I.16, p. 84.

I.17

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

I.18

- 1822.6 Then let the *good* be free to breathe a note (until 1827)
 9 Outshining nightly tapers, or the blaze (until 1837)

I.19

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

I.20

- 1822.1 Ah, when the Frame, round which in love we clung,
 (until 1837)
 9 For those whose doom is fix'd! The way is smooth
 (until 1832)

I.21

- 1822.13 Yet, while they strangle without mercy, bring (until 1837)
 Knight (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.20) says: 'This and the two following sonnets were published in *Time's Telescope*, July 2, 1823.'

I.22

- 1822.7 Thence creeping under forest arches cool, (until 1837)
 9 Perchance would throng my dreams. A beechen bowl,
 (until 1827)

Published in *Time's Telescope*, July 2, 1823. See note on I.21.

I.23

- 1822.4 The hovering Shade of venerable Bede; (until 1827)
 7 Of Learning, where he heard the billows beat (until 1827)

In 1850.1 there is a typographical error: *meed* for *mead*. Published in *Time's Telescope*, July 2, 1823. See note on I.21.

I.24

- 1822.7 And peace, and equity.—Bold faith! yet rise (until 1832)
 8 The sacred Towers for universal gains. (until 1827)

For an early MS. reading similar in part, see the reproduction of F, p. 98.

I.25

- 1822.11 Nor leaves her speech wherewith to clothe a sigh
 (until 1827)
 13 With all their Arts—while classic Lore glides on
 (until 1827)

I.26

- 1822.13 And Christian India gifts with Alfred shares (until 1827)
 14 By sacred converse link'd with India's clime. (until 1827)

I.27

- 1822.1 Can aught survive to linger in the veins (until 1837)
 2 Of kindred bodies—an essential power (until 1837)
 3 That may not vanish in one fatal hour, (until 1837)
 4 And wholly cast away terrestrial chains? (until 1837)
 5 The race of Alfred covets glorious pains (until 1832)
 9 The root sincere—the branches bold to thrive (until 1827)
 10 With the fierce storm; meanwhile, within the round
 (until 1827)

I.28

- 1822.12 So vaunt a throng of Followers, filled with pride
 (until *1838)
 13 In shows of virtue pushed to its extremes, (until 1837)
 *1838.12 So vaunt a throng of Followers, swoln with pride
 (until 1840)

I.29

- 1822.2 Dissention checks the arms that would restrain
(until 1837)
4 And widely spreads once more a Pagan sway; (until 1837)

I.30

- 1822.6 He listen'd (all past conquests and all schemes
(until 1827)
9 The Royal Minstrel, ere the choir was still (until 1827)
11 Gives to that rapture a memorial Rhyme. (until 1827)

I.31

- 1822.3 Hark! 'tis the Curfew's knell! the stars may shine;
(until 1827)
14 Brings to Religion no injurious change. (until 1837)

I.32

- 1837.6 Though men be, there are angels that can feel
(until *1838)
*1838.6 Though men be, there are angels who can feel
(until 1840)

I.33

- 1822.10 Shout which the enraptured multitude astounded.
(until 1827)
12 "God willeth it," from hill to hill rebounded; (until 1827)
13 Sacred resolve, in countries far and nigh, (until 1827)
14 Through "Nature's hollow arch," that night, resounded!
(until *1827)
*1827.14 Through "Nature's hollow arch" the voice resounds.
(until 1837)

I.34

The text has remained unchanged since 1822. For the early MS. readings, see the reproduction of F I.34, pp. 99, 101.

I.35

- 1822.6 Her blushing cheek, Love's vow upon her lip, (until 1827)
13 Of those enthusiast powers a constant Friend, (until 1837)
14 Through giddier heights hath clomb the Papal sway.
(until 1837)

I.36

- 1822.9 With natural smile of greeting.—Bells are dumb;
(until *1838)
*1838.9 With natural smiles of greeting.—Bells are dumb;
(until **1840)

**1840.9 With natural smile of greeting.—Bells are dumb;
(until 1845)

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 1.36, p. 92.

1.37

The text has remained unchanged since 1822. For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 1.37, p. 91.

1.38

The text has remained unchanged since 1822. For the early MS. readings, see the reproduction of F 1.38, pp. 93, 97.

1.39

The text has remained unchanged since 1822. For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 1.39, p. 92.

2.1

The text has remained unchanged since 1845, when the sonnet was first published. Knight gives the following MS. readings (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.35-6):

- C.1 Even when the state of man seems most secure
 2 And tempted least to deviate from the line
 3 Of simple duty, woeful forfeiture
 1 How difficult for man to keep the line
 2 Prescribed by duty! Happy once and pure
 1 Though Angels watched lest man should from the line
 2 Of duty sever, blest though he was, and pure
 3 In thought and deed, a woeful forfeiture
 4 He made by wilful breach of law divine,
 5 The church of Christ how prompt was she to abjure
 6 Allegiance to her Lord how prone to twine
 5 The visible church how prone was she to abjure
 6 Allegiance to Christ's Kingdom and entwine
 7 With glorious flowers that shall for aye endure
 8 Weeds on whose front the world had fixed her sign.
 9 False man—if with thy trials thus it fared—
 10 If good can smooth the way to evil choice,
 11 From hasty answer be our minds kept free;
 12 He only judges right who weighs, compares,
 13 And, in the sternest sentence that his voice
 14 May utter, ne'er abandons charity.

2.2

The text has remained unchanged since 1845, when the sonnet was first published. Knight gives the following MS. reading (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.37):

- A.1 etc. On false assumption, though the Papal Power
 Rests, and spreads wide, beduped, by ignorance hailed,
 A darker empire must have else prevailed,
 For deeds of mischief strengthening every hour.
 Behold how thundering from her spiritual tower
 She daunts brute rapine, cruelty she tames.
 Justice and charity through her assert their claims,
 And chastity finds many a sheltering bower.
 Realm is there none that, if controlled or swayed
 By her commands, partakes not in degree
 Of good, on manners arts and arms diffused:
 To mock thy exaltation, Roman See,
 And to the Autocracy, howe'er abused
 Through blind ambition, be this tribute paid.

2.3

- 1822.2 " *More promptly rises, walks with nicer heed*, (until 1837)
 9 Doubtless shall cheat full oft the heart's desire;
 (until 1827)

2.4

The text has remained unchanged since 1835, when the sonnet was first published, with 2.12 and 2.13, in the volume entitled *Yarrow Revisited and Other Poems*.

2.5

- 1822.6 Whose fervent exhortations from afar (until *1838)
 *1838.6 Whose earnest exhortations from afar (until 1840)

2.6

- 1822.5 Down to the humble Altar, which the Knight (until 1837)
 12 And suffering under many a doubtful wound, (until 1827)

2.7

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

2.8

- 1822.1 Nor can Imagination quit the shores (until 1845)
 2 Of these bright scenes without a farewell glance
 (until 1845)
 3 Given to those dream-like Issues—that Romance
 (until *1837)

- | | | |
|---------|--|--------------|
| 4 | Of many-colored life which Fortune pours | (until 1837) |
| 13 | When she would tell how Good, and Brave, and Wise, | (until 1837) |
| *1837.3 | Given to the dream-like issues—the romance | (until 1845) |

2.9

The text has remained unchanged since 1845, when the sonnet was first published.

2.10

The text has remained unchanged since 1845, when the sonnet was first published. Knight gives the following MS. readings (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.43):

- C.3 Blighted and scathed tho' many branches be,
4 Can never cease to bear and ripen fruit
5 Worthy of Heaven. This law is absolute.
6 Behold the Church that often with effect
7 Dear to the Saints doth labouring to eject
6 The Church not seldom surely with effect
7 Dear to the Saints doth labour to eject
8 Her bane, her vital energy recruit.
9 So Providence ordains and why repine
10 If this good work is doomed to be undone,
12 Trust that the promises vouchsafed will shine
14 . . . thro' . . .

2.11

- 1822.9 This Valdo brook'd not. On the banks of Rhone (until 1837)
12 Nor were his Followers loth to seek defence, (until 1837)

2.12

The text has remained unchanged since 1835, when the sonnet was first published, with 2.4 and 2.13, in the volume entitled *Yarrow Revisited and Other Poems*.

2.13

See the note on 2.12 for the circumstances of publication.

- 1835.5 Nor be unthanked their tardiest lingerings (until 1837)
6 'Mid reedy fens wide-spread and marshes drear,
(until 1837)
7 Their own creation, till their long career (until 1837)
8 End in the sea engulfed. Such welcomings (until 1837)
9 As came from mighty Po when Venice rose, (until 1837)
10 Greeted those simple Heirs of truth divine (until 1837)
12 Yet were prepared as glorious lights to shine, (until *1837)
14

14 Blest Prisoners They, whose spirits are at large!

(until 1838)

*1837.12 Yet came prepared as glorious lights to shine,

(until **1838)

**1838.12 Yet well prepared as glorious lights to shine,

(until 1840)

2.14

1822.1 These who gave earliest notice, as the Lark (until *1837)

3 Who rather rose the day to antedate, (until 1838)

6 These Harbingers of good, whom bitter hate (until *1838)

7 In vain endeavoured to exterminate, (until 1838)

8 Fell Obloquy pursues with hideous bark? (until 1840)

9 Meanwhile the unextinguishable fire, (until 1827)

*1837.1 These who gave early notice, as the lark (until **1838)

**1838.1 These had given earliest notice, as the lark (until 1845)

*1838.6 At length came those Waldensian bands whom Hate

(until **1840)

**1840.6 At length come those Waldensian bands whom Hate

(until 1845)

For the early MS. readings, see the reproduction of F 2.14, pp. 100, 109.

2.15

The text has remained unchanged since 1822. For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 2.15, p. 85.

2.16

1822.7 But mark the dire effect in coming years! (until 1827)

8 Deep, deep as hell itself, the future draught (until 1827)

13 And, under cover of that woeful strife, (until 1827)

2.17

The text has remained unchanged since 1822. For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 2.17, p. 88.

2.18

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

2.19

1822.7 And robs the People of his daily care, (until 1827)

8 Scorning their wants because her arm is strong?

(until 1827)

9 Inversion strange! that to a Monk, who lives (until 1827)

12 And hath allotted, in the world's esteem, (until *1827)

13 To such a station higher than to him (until 1827)

*1827.12 That to a Monk allots, in the esteem (until 1845)

2.20

- 1822.9 To stay the precious waste. In every brain (until 1832)
 10 Spreads the dominion of the sprightly juice, (until 1832)
 11 Through the wide world to madding Fancy dear,
 (until 1832)

2.21

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

2.22

- 1822.5 Goes forth—unveiling timidly her cheek (until 1837)
 7 While through the Convent gate to open view (until 1837)
 1822.10 has a typographical error: *Apparition* for *Apparition*.
 It was corrected in 1827.

2.23

- 1822.1 Yet some, Noviciates of the cloistral shade, (until 1838)
 2 Or chained by vows, with undissembled glee (until 1838)

2.24

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

2.25

1822.7 and 8 have what are presumably typographical errors: *Noon* for *moon*, and *wain* for *wane*. These were corrected in 1827. Otherwise the text has remained unchanged since 1822. For an early MS. reading of lines 7–8, see the reproduction of F 1.2, p. 82. Knight, *P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.55: 'This sonnet was published in *Time's Telescope*, July 2, 1823, p. 136.'

2.26

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

2.27

- 1822.13 'Mid phantom lakes bemocking thirsty men, (until 1837)

2.28

- 1822.5 With farewell sighs of mollified disdain, (until 1827)
 For the early MS. readings, see the reproduction of F 2.28, pp. 85, 95.

2.29

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

2.38

- | | | |
|--------|---|--------------|
| 1822.9 | Meanwhile, by prudence ruled, glides slowly on; | (until 1827) |
| 12 | For, wheresoe'er she moves, the clouds anon | (until 1845) |
| 13 | Disperse; or—under a Divine constraint— | (until 1845) |
| 14 | Reflect some portion of her glorious light! | (until 1845) |

For the early MS. readings, see the reproduction of F 2.38, p. 103.

2.39

- 1822.7 The Donor's farewell blessing, could he dread (until 1827)
For the early MS. readings, see the reproduction of F 2.39, p. 89.

2.40

- 1822.1 Holy and heavenly Spirits as they were, (until 1827)
3 With what entire affection did they prize (until 1827)
4 Their new-born Church! labouring with earnest care
(until 1845)
5 To baffle all that might her strength impair; (until 1827)
10 In polity and discipline they sought (until 1827)

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 2.40, p. 104.

2.41

- 1822.13 The Throne is plagued; the New-born Church is sad
(until 1827)

2.42

The text has remained unchanged since 1822. For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 2.42, p. 99.

2.43

The text has not been changed from its reading in the *Ecclesiastical Sketches*, 1822. This same year, however, it was also published in *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent*, 1820; and there line 11 read as follows:

Blasts of tempestuous smoke, with which he tries

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 2.43, pp. 86-7.

2.44

- 1822.I Such contrast, in whatever track we move, (until *1827)
 *1827.I Such is the contrast, which, where'er we move (until 1832)

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 2.44, pp. 87-8.

- 12 That guides and cheers,—or seen, like stars on high,
(until 1827)

In 1827 this sonnet was taken from its place before *Clerical Integrity* and inserted after 'Down a swift Stream, thus far, a bold design.' It was not restored until 1845.

3.6

1822.5 And some to want—as if by tempest wreck'd (until 1837)
1832.13 has a typographical error: *self-edceiving* for *self-deceiving*.
It was corrected in 1837.

3.7

The text has remained unchanged since 1827, when the sonnet was first published.

3.8

- 1822.1 A voice, from long-expectant thousands sent, (until 1827)
10 With outstretched hands and earnest voice—in vain!
(until 1827)

3.9

- 1822.5 (By constant impulse of religious awe (until 1845)
11 And while he marches on with righteous hope, (until 1845)

In the editions of 1845 and 1850 line 5 was erroneously punctuated:

(Swerves not, how blest if by religious awe

For an early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 3.9, lines 4–8, p. 96.

3.10

The text has remained unchanged since 1822, except for the correction of a typographical error: *lings* in 1822.13 to *clings* in 1827.13.

3.11

- 1827.7 Mingling their Light with graver flatteries, (until 1832)
In 1827 this sonnet was inserted before *Places of Worship*. There it remained until 1845, when it was removed to its present place.

3.12

This sonnet was first published in 1822, as one of the *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent, 1820*. There the text read as follows:

*Sonnet**Author's Voyage Down the Rhine (Thirty Years Ago)*

The confidence of Youth our only Art,
And Hope gay Pilot of the bold design,
We saw the living Landscapes of the Rhine,
Reach after reach, salute us and depart;

Slow sink the Spires,—and up again they start!
 But who shall count the Towers as they recline
 O'er the dark steeps, or on the horizon line
 Striding, with shattered crests, the eye athwart?
 More touching still, more perfect was the pleasure,
 When hurrying forward till the slack'ning stream
 Spread like a spacious Mere, we there could measure
 A smooth free course along the watery gleam,
 Think calmly on the past, and mark at leisure
 Features which else had vanished like a dream.

After thorough revision, it was republished in 1827 with *Ecclesiastical Sketches*, where Wordsworth inserted it to follow *Obligations of Civil to Religious Liberty*; in the rearrangement of 1845 it was finally placed between *Sacheverel* and *Aspects of Christianity in America*. The disappearance of the sonnet from *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent, 1820*, subsequent to 1822, gave rise to the belief that it had never been reprinted. Professor Lane Cooper was the first to indicate its relation to *Eccl. Son.* See Wordsworth: *Variant Readings*, in *Notes and Queries* 11 S. ii. 222 (September 17, 1910).

1827.8 Striding with shattered crests the eye athwart.
(until *1838)

14 Features that else had vanished like a dream (until 1845)

*1838.8 Striding with shattered crests his eye athwart.
(until **1840)

**1840.8 Striding with shattered crests the eye athwart.
(until 1845)

Knight gives the following MS. reading (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.83):

C.13 . . . sound at leisure

14 The depths, and mark the compass of our theme.

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 3.12, p. 90.

3.13, 14, 15

The text has remained unchanged since 1842, when the sonnets were first published in the volume entitled *Poems, Chiefly of Early and Late Years*. For an unprinted sub-title to 3.14, see p. 31.

3.16

The text has remained unchanged since 1845, when the sonnet was first published. MS. E gives an early reading of line 1:

Bishops and Priests, how blest are Ye if deep

3.17

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

The text has remained unchanged since 1822. For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 3.18, p. 93.

1822.4	Distinct with signs, through which in fixed career,	(until 1837)
9	Enough for us to cast a transient glance	(until *E)
10	The circle through; relinquishing its story	(until *E)
11	For those whom Heaven hath fitted to advance	(until *E)
12	And, harp in hand, rehearse the King of Glory—	(until *E)
*E.9	Upon that circle, traced from ancient story,	(until 1845)
10	There let us cast a more than transient glance;	(until 1845)
11	With harp in hand endeavour to advance,	(until 1845)
12	And mind intent upon the King of Glory—	(until 1845)

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 3.19, p. 98. Knight gives the following MS. readings (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.89):

- C.9 Enough for us to cast no careless glance
10 Upon that circle, leaving Christian story
11 To those . . . has . . .
C.9 Here let us cast a more than Transient glance,
10 And harp in hand endeavour to advance,
11 With mind intent . . .

[illegible]

The text has remained unchanged since 1832, when the sonnet was first published. Knight gives the following MS. reading, which he says was dated Dec. 7, 1827 (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.90-1):

- B.4 . . . yet more sensitive,
5 More faithful, thou, a second Mother,
7 Watched at all seasons, and with industry
9 . . . Benign must be
12 . . . "Assurance doubly sure."
14 . . . the Name an empty sound.

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

3.23

The text has remained unchanged since 1827, when the sonnet was first published.

3.24

1827.8 And such vibration to the Mother went (until 1837)

3.25

1827.3 Brings to thy food, memorial Sacrament! (until 1845)

9 Here must my Song in timid reverence pause: (until 1845)

10 But shrink not ye whom to the saving rite (until 1845)

Knight gives the following MS. reading (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.93):

B.2 . . . to . . .

3.26

The text has remained unchanged since 1845, when the sonnet was first published. Knight gives the following MS. reading (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.94):

C.2 Together they kneel down who come in sight

3 Of God and chosen friends their troth to plight.

4 This have they done, by words, and prayers, and hands

This sonnet appears also in MS. E, with the reading of the text of 1845.

3.27

The text has remained unchanged since 1845, when the sonnet was first published. The sonnet appears in MS. E, with the reading of the text.

3.28

The text has remained unchanged since 1845, when the sonnet was first published. The sonnet appears in MS. E, with the reading of the text.

3.29

The text has remained unchanged since 1845, when the sonnet was first published. Knight gives the following MS. reading (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.96):

C.2 . . . as dealing

3 With human curses, banish the false feeling.

4 Go thou . . . terrors . . .

This sonnet appears also in MS. E, with the reading of the text of 1845.

3.30

The text has remained unchanged since 1845, when the sonnet was first published. An early reading of lines 9-10 occurs in MS. E:

In vain who reverentially give breath

To words *that* Church prescribes aiding the lip

3.31

The text has remained unchanged since 1845, when the sonnet was first published. MS. E has the following reading for line 2:

The Church attends her care to thought and deed;

3.32

- 1822.1 With smiles each happy face was overspread, (until *1827)
 2 That trial ended. Give we to a day (until *1827)
 3 Of festal joy one tributary lay; (until 1827)
 4 That day when forth by rustic music led (until 1827)
 *1827.1 Content with calmer scenes around us spread (until 1845)
 2 And humbler objects, give we to a day (until 1845)

Knight gives the following MS. reading (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.98):

C.1 . . . precious Book . . .

MS. E gives directions for altering the first two lines for the edition of 1845.

3.33

- 1822.5 Giving the Memory help when she would weave
 (until 1845)

3.34

- 1822.2 And sinks from high to low, along a scale (until 1840)
 12 Its crown of weeds, but could not even sustain
 (until 1837)

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 3.34, p. 108.

3.35

- 1822.8 And faults of others, gently as he may, (until *1837)
 9 Towards our own the mild Instructor deals, (until 1837)
 *1837.8 And faults of others—so, where'er he may (until 1845)
 For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 3.35, p. 106.

3.36

- 1827.14 Give to their Faith a dreadless resting-place. (until 1837)

3.37

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

3.38

- 1822.14 That hill or vale prolongs or multiplies! (until 1837)

3.39

- 1822.11 May-garlands, let the holy Altar stand (until 1838)

3.40

1822.1 Mine ear has rung, my spirits sunk subdued, (until 1827)

3.41

1822.10 But infinite its grasp of joy and woe! (until *1832)

*1832.10 But infinite in grasp of weal and woe! (until 1837)

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 3.41, p. 108.

3.42

1822.7 Watching, with upward eyes, the tall tower grow
(until 1827)

Knight, *P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.105: 'This sonnet was published in *Time's Telescope*, September 1823, p. 260.'

3.43

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

3.44

1822.2 Their portraiture the lateral windows hide, (until 1827)

3 Glimmers their corresponding stone-work, dyed
(until 1827)

4 With the soft checquerings of a sleepy light. (until 1827)

For the early MS. reading, see the reproduction of F 3.44, p. 107.

3.45

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

3.46

The text has remained unchanged since 1822.

3.47

1822.10 (Nor in that vision be thou slow to trust) (until 1827)

NOTES

[Wordsworth himself has directed students to Stillingfleet, Bede, Daniel, Fuller, Turner, Whitaker, Foxe, Walton, Strype, Hume, Burnet, and Dyer: his notes are quoted from the *Poetical Works*, Oxford edition. Where other obligations occur, they will be acknowledged in detail. The spelling and punctuation of prose passages have generally been modernized. Secondary references are usually not given unless there is reason to believe that Wordsworth was familiar with them. The number in bold-faced type at the left of the note indicates the line or lines concerned.]

I. I

1-14 Enough has been said (pp. 62-78) to relate Wordsworth's design of a holy river to one of the main figures of Biblical and classical literature, and to Wordsworth's own previous experience, both personal and artistic. Cf. the following references for evidence that when he turned to the opening pages of his immediate sources he found a like figure dominating the material or introducing the theme: Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, pp. 5-6; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. Brit.*, ed. by Giles in *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 90; Camden, *Brit.*, introductory poem; Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.86; Heylin, *Cyp. Angl.*, p. 43; Fuller, *Holy War*, Epistle Dedictory; Drayton, *Polyolbion*, Argument to the First Song; Milton, *P. L.* 1.10-13; Dyer, *Hist. Camb.* 1.vi-vii. Cf. also Lamb's note on Drayton, in *Works*, ed. by Macdonald, 9.120; and refer to Osgood, *Spenser's English Rivers*, in the *Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences* 23.65-108, January, 1920.

Wordsworth begins his series in the first person, as do Virgil, Dante, and Spenser; he is descriptive, as is Chaucer; he is reminiscent, as are Homer and Virgil; allegorical, with Dante and Spenser; and although his theme and method and design differ from those of Milton, the same lofty aim is at once apparent.

To supplement what has hitherto been said of the structure of *Eccl. Son.*, Drayton's dedication of *Polyolbion* may be used as a motto (lines 4, 10):

Who, by that virtue of the treble trine . . .
And rule three realms with triple power, like Jove.

The 'three realms' which Wordsworth celebrates in *Eccl. Son.* 1.1 are the natural, the human, and the divine. His series, *The River Duddon*, had been published in May, 1820; the *Poems Dedicated to National Independence and Liberty*, referred to in lines 5-8, were composed at intervals from 1802 to 1837, and first appeared as a group in 1815. *Eccl. Son.* were to constitute the third series.

And not only is the third series a poem of 'three realms,' and a 'treble trine,' but the first sonnet of it prefigures the tripartite grouping of the whole, and the sestet has a triple decoration, 'pastoral flowers,' 'laurel,' 'amaranth and palms,' a probable reference to the three functions of the church, its human service, its political responsibility, and its immortal aim. In 1816 Wordsworth had written a similar passage (*Ode 1814* 37-52).

2 'Cerulean,' a word usually applied by Wordsworth to the ether and to the sky, is here applied to the Duddon. Cf. also *Desc. Scen. Lakes, Prose Works* 2.41 and 44, and *Journals* 2.200.

3, 4 'Ruled by his' and 'boon Nature's grace' constitute a prelude to 'meek doctrines' (1.3.8) and 'the pure spirit of celestial light' (3.4.12).

4 Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 2.485-6.

6 'Plausive string' recalls the 'plausive smile' of Phoebus in *Malham* 8, a sonnet mentioned in the Introduction (footnote p. 8) as a link between *Excursion* and *Eccl. Son.*

9-14 The allegorical significance of these lines, undeniable in 'laurel,' 'amaranth,' and 'palms,' is probable in 'pastoral flowers' as well. The fundamental conception of 'source' in Wordsworth's mind may be sought from the adjectives usual to this word in his poems (Cooper, *Concordance to the Poems of W. W.*, p. 903). They are: far deeper, still deeper, inexhaustible, nobler, loftier, precious, pure, unquestionable, sad, invisible, pure and holy, abundant, sacred, higher, profound, humane and heavenly, humble, marvellous, pure, feeding, primal, dread, happiest. And hence it is clear that, however aware Wordsworth was of the 'fontis sacros' (Virgil, *Ec.* 1.52), of the 'fontis integros' (Lucretius, *De Rer. Nat.* 1.927), of the 'fons Bandusiae' (Horace, *Carm.* 3.13.1), even of 'Helicon's harmonious springs' (Gray, *Progress of Poesy* 1.1.3), the source of the holy river had been throughout his poetry such a source as the fountain of Psalm 36.9: 'For with thee is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light.'

11 Virgil, *Ec.* 9.40-1, 8.13; Spenser, *F. Q.* 1.1.9.1-2.

14 Milton, *P. L.* 3.353-9.

Immortal Amaranth, a Flour which once
In Paradise, fast by the Tree of Life
Began to bloom, but soon for mans offence
To Heav'n remov'd where first it grew, there grows,
And flours aloft shading the Fount of Life,
And where the river of Bliss through midst of Heaven
Rowls o're *Elisian* Flours her Amber stream.

Cf. *Misc. Son.* 1.35; and Charlotte Smith's *Elegiac Sonnets and Other Poems*, pp. 20, 48: 'fair Friendship's amaranth,' and

Let thy loved hand with palm and amaranth strew
The mournful path approaching to the tomb,
While Faith's consoling voice endears the friendly gloom.

1.2

1-5 Two early versions of the first part of this sonnet in MS. F (pp. 81-2) indicate that one source may be Drayton's *Polyolbion*. Cf. the latter (Upon the Frontispiece):

Through a *Triumphant Arch*, see *Albion* plac'd,
In *Happy* site, in *Neptune's* arms embrac'd,
In *Power* and *Plenty*, on her *Cleevy* Throne
Circled with *Nature's Garlands*, being alone
Styl'd th' *Ocean's Island*;

and (1.1, 7, 31-4, 41-2):

Of *Albion's* glorious Isle the wonders whilst I write, . . .
What help shall I invoke to aid my Muse the while? . . .
Ye sacred Bards, that to your harp's melodious strings
Sung th' ancient Heroes' deeds (the monuments of Kings)
And in your dreadful verse ingrav'd the prophecies,
The aged world's descents, and genealogies; . . .
I could have wish'd your spirits redoubled in my breast,
To give my verse applause, to time's eternal rest.

1-2 Fuller's account of the Bards (*Ch. Hist.* 1.6-7) contains a suggestion for 'prophets . . . past things,' and for the title, *Conjectures*: 'The Bards were next to the Druids in regard, and played excellently to their songs on their harps; whereby they had great operation on the vulgar, surprising them into civility unawares,—they greedily swallowing whatsoever was sweetened with music. These also, to preserve their ancestors from corruption, embalmed their memories in rhyming verses, which looked both backward—in their relations, and forward—in their predictions; so that their confidence, meeting with the credulity of others, advanced their wild conjectures to the reputation of prophecies.'

3-5 Miss Melville (*Essay*¹) has suggested that Wordsworth was indebted to the works of Edward Davies. Cf. the latter's *Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*, p. 142: 'The Druids represented the deluge under the figure of a lake; . . . the deluge itself was viewed not merely as an instrument of punishment . . . but also as a divine *lustration*, which washed away the *bane* of corruption, and purified the earth for the reception of the *just ones*, or of the deified patriarch [Noah] and his family. Consequently, it was deemed peculiarly sacred, and communicated its distinguishing character to those lakes and bays by which it was locally represented.'

5-8 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.2: 'Stillingfleet adduces many arguments in support of this opinion, but they are unconvincing.' Cf. Stillingfleet, *Orig. Brit.*, p. 37: 'Eusebius affirms

¹ *An Introduction to the Ecclesiastical Sonnets of Wordsworth, with Notes on the First Fifteen.* A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University for the degree of Master of Arts (1914) by Georgina Melville. Typewritten manuscript in Cornell University Library.

. . . that some of the Apostles preached the Gospel in the British Islands. . . . Much to the same purpose Theodoret speaks, another learned and judicious church historian. For among the nations converted by the Apostles, he expressly names the Britons; and elsewhere saith that St. Paul brought salvation to the Islands that lie in the Ocean, after he had mentioned Spain, and therefore in all probability the British Islands are understood by him.'

9-10 Stillingfleet (*ibid.*, pp. 37-48) discusses at length the right of St. Paul or of St. Peter to be known as the founder of Christianity in Britain. After rejecting the evidence of Simeon Metaphrastes and Eysengrenius, who decide for St. Peter, he concludes (*ibid.*, p. 48) 'that the Christian Church in Britain was rather founded by St. Paul than by St. Peter or any other Apostle.' Cf. Acts 12.7, as Miss Melville notes (*Essay*).

11-12 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.2: 'The latter part of this sonnet refers to a favorite notion of Roman Catholic writers, that Joseph of Arimathea and his companions brought Christianity into Britain, and built a rude church at Glastonbury; alluded to hereafter, in a passage upon the dissolution of monasteries.' Cf. Stillingfleet, *op. cit.*, p. 3: 'Baronius . . . [says] that Joseph of Arimathea did bear them company, and came over into Britain to preach the Gospel.' 'Them' refers to Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, Martha, and Marcella, whom Baronius supposes to have come to Marseilles in a ship without oars (*ibid.*).

12-13 Melville, *Essay*: 'Cup of woe. An allusion to the tradition that Joseph had charge of the cup from which our Lord drank at the Last Supper, i.e., the Holy Grail.'

14 Stillingfleet (*op. cit.*, p. 17) quotes the *Monasticon* in regard to the charter of King Ine, but challenges this document, which 'makes the church at Glastonbury, dedicated to Christ and the Blessed Virgin, to be the Fountain of all Religion, and the first in the kingdom of Britain.' He concludes: 'I see no ground to believe that . . . Joseph of Arimathea . . . had ever been there' (*ibid.*, p. 26).

1.3

1 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.3: 'This water-fowl was, among the Druids, an emblem of those traditions connected with the deluge that made an important part of their mysteries. The cormorant was a bird of bad omen.' Cf. *Desc. Scen. Lakes, Prose Works* 2.36-7. Miss Melville (*Essay*) cites Davies (*Mythology and Rites*, p. 510) for a translation of Taliesin, 'I knew the eminently white *sea-mew* in Dinbych,' and the pertinent note, 'By the description which is given of this *sea-mew*, it is evident he was no other than the hierophant, or chief Druid.' Cf. Drayton's 'un-numbered fowl' (*Polyolbion* 1.73-4):

Some, rising like a storm from off the troubled sand,
Some in their hovering flight to shadow all the land.

Charlotte Smith, too, refers to 'ospreys, cormorants, and sea-mews' (*Elegiac Son.*, p. 51).

2 Wordsworth describes such 'mystic rings' in *Desc. Scen. Lakes, Prose Works* 2.49, note 1, relating them to Stonehenge and Long Meg and her Daughters as a 'rural chapel' is related to a 'stately church' or 'noble cathedral.' Cf. the proximity of *Long Meg and her Daughters* to *King's College Chapel* in MS. F (pp. 104-7).

3 Davies, *Mythology and Rites*, p. 39: 'And how can these Bards be said *never to have troubled themselves with futurity?* The first of Meugant's poems opens in the high prophetic style—*Dydd dywydd*—"The day will come," and speaks of the Druids as true prophets.'

4 *Ibid.*, p. 512: 'A cormorant approaches me with long wings. She assaults the top of the stone with her hoarse clamor.—There is wrath in the fates! Let it burst through the stones!' Cf. Charlotte Smith, *Elegiac Son.*, p. 17, lines 9-10:

No bird, ill-omen'd, round thy graceful head
Shall clamour harsh, or wave his heavy wing.

Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 4.196.

5 Davies' note (*op cit.*, p. 512) is the source: 'The cormorant, a bird of ill omen, denounces an approaching persecution.'

6-7 The words 'diluvian' and 'patriarchal' occur frequently in Davies' book (*op. cit.*, Preface, p. vii, and pp. 117, 121, 122, 145). Cf. his *Celtic Researches on the Origin, Traditions, and Language of the Ancient Britons*, 1804, p. 119: 'The religion of the patriarchs had, indeed, been deformed with various superstitions, by all nations. But this order, notwithstanding their many and gross errors, appear to have retained many of its vital and essential principles.' Cf. also passages in Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth*, e.g., 1.292-3.

8-9 'Meek' is the adjective applied to Herbert, father of Idonea, to Cordelia, daughter of Lear, to Mary Wordsworth, to the Armenian Lady, to the dove, to the daisy, to an infant, to the ass that bore a cross, to Isaak Walton, to the loveliness of Yarrow visited, to womanhood, to the Duc d'Enghien, to the Bard, to the virgin, to Michelangelo's face of Christ, to the Egyptian Maid, to Columba, to Una, to the milk-white lamb, to Emily, to the nun, to evening, to the moon, to innocence, to Rydal Chapel, to Grace Darling, to John Wordsworth, to Worth, to Coleridge, to Michel Beaupuy, to the glow-worm, to the Wanderer, to repentance, to lonely reading.

'Doctrine' is the name for the teaching of Wyclif and of the 'eminent reformers' of *Eccl. Son.* 2.40, for the learning of that school of Christian people of whom the Prioress tells, for the 'legitimate union of the imagination, affections, understanding, and reason' with which the Wanderer closes book 4 of *The Excursion*.

'Transport' and 'transports' are the accompaniment of a sudden meeting, of the return of long-exiled Dion, of joy, of a faithless heart and of soberness of reason overpowered, of the sight of Norton's standard 'in all its dread emblazonry,' of the acquittal of the Bishops, of the sunset, of Grote's ballot-box, of youth, of tumbling rills, of creative sensibility, of communion with every form of creature, of the composition of the preamble to *The Prelude*, of news of the death of Robespierre, of a new-fallen inheritance, of the despotism of the bodily eye, of golden expectations, freights from a new world of hope, of being (as a presence or a motion, an equal among the mightiest energies of Nature), of the discovery of precious ore, of the birth of a daughter, of a knock-down blow (see Cooper, *Concordance to the Poems of W. W.*

In these two lines, which have been chosen to stand at the beginning of this interpretation of *Eccl. Son.* (pp. 1-27), there is a powerful opposition. That this is not accidental, and not a result of Wordsworth's age alone, the foregoing list would abundantly indicate. Wordsworth's associations, from *Peter Bell* and *Juvenal* on the one hand to Isaak Walton and the acquittal of the Bishops on the other, taught the same lesson throughout his life: the respective value of meek doctrine and transport.

10-14 'Julian spear' and 'Roman chains' may be adapted from the following passages in Davies (*Mythology and Rites*, pp. 512-13): 'I warn thee to depart! Thou be prosperous! Spear-men with vibrating spears will occupy the spot. . . . They will break the circle behind the flat stone of Maelwy. Let the multitude of our friends retire'; and (*ibid.*, p. 515): 'The heavy blue chain [the deluge] didst thou, O just man [Noah], endure.' Cf. Milton, *Hist. Brit.*, ed. by Mitford, in *Works* 5.46: 'But the gospel, not long after preached here, abolished such impurities, and of the Romans we have cause not to say much worse, than that they beat us into some civility; likely else to have continued longer in a barbarous and savage manner of life.'

I.4

Title, *Druidical Excommunication*. Although Miss Melville (*Essay*) remarks upon the laxity with which a word of Christian connotation is applied to a pagan rite, she seems not to have noticed the following passage of Davies, whose italics might easily have caught the poet's eye (*Celtic Researches*, p. 172): 'Amongst their disciples, these *Druids* could at all times ensure peace by holding up the rod of *excommunication*.'

1-4 For evidence that this sonnet was originally intended to follow *Long Meg and her Daughters*, see MS. F (pp. 104-5). The MS. version of line 3, and of line 7, 'Did Priest and Lawgiver and Bard aspire,' indicates that Wordsworth had first read some such account as Davies gives (*Celtic Researches*, p. 191): 'The Bards were Priest and Poet. The Harp was their inseparable attribute.'

Cf. Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* 1.83-4), to whom Wordsworth may have gone for the revision of lines 1-4: 'The Druids appointed the remunerations, and the punishments. Whoever disobeyed their decree was interdicted from their sacrifices, which with them was the severest punishment. An interdicted person was deemed both impious and wicked; all fled from him, and avoided his presence and conversation, lest they should be contaminated by the intercourse. He was allowed no legal rights. He participated in no honors.' Cf. also Southey, *Book of the Church* 1.6: '[The Druids] made the people, at the beginning of winter, extinguish all their fires on one day, and kindle them again from the sacred fire of the Druids, which would make the house fortunate for the ensuing year; and if any man came who had not paid his yearly dues, they refused to give him a spark, neither durst any of his neighbors relieve him; nor might he himself procure fire by any other means, so that he and his family were deprived of it till he had discharged the uttermost of his debt.' Davies, *op cit.*, p. 172: 'The wretch . . . was deprived . . . of all social comfort and benefit.'

5-9 Davies says of Taliesin's *Preiddeu Annwn*, *The Spoils of the Deep* (*Mythology and Rites*, p. 515): 'In this first stanza we find the Bard acknowledging the existence of *one supreme God*, and declaring his resolution to adore him, *because he had shown respect to Gwair, the just man*, and preserved the inclosure of Caer Sidi, in which he had shut him up, at the time when he extended his dominions *over the shores of the world*, or sent forth the universal deluge. The Supreme Being was, therefore, adored for his beneficent providence, which had distinguished the just man, and preserved him through a calamity which overwhelmed the world. This, I conceive, was a genuine principle of the patriarchal religion.' Cf. Stillingfleet, *Orig. Brit.*, p. 57, and Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 1.5-6.

6 Cf. *Daniel* 7.9.

8-9 Davies (*Mythology and Rites*, p. 74), quotes Borlase and Strabo: 'The Druids were remarkable for justice, moral and religious doctrines, and skill in the laws of their country.'

10 'The coming storm' refers to the deluge.

12 Davies, *ibid.*, p. 87: 'That they had no knowledge or recollection of the Great First Cause, I will not venture to assert; . . . but they saw him faintly, through the thick veil of superstition.' Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbion* 1.36: 'darksome groves'; Southey, *Book of the Church* 1.3: 'glimmerings of patriarchal faith'; and Davies, *Celtic Researches*, pp. 121-2: 'genuine features of primeval history.'

13-14 The account of Druid cruelty given by Turner (*op. cit.* 1.81-2) may have caused the revision of these two lines. Cf. MS. F (p. 105). Wordsworth addressed the same object in *Guilt and Sorrow*, stanza 14; and in *Prelude* 13.312-49.

1.5

1-8 Davies (*Mythology and Rites*, p. 302) mentions in the same paragraph Snowden, Stonehenge, Abury, and the temple of Clatserniss in the Western Isles of Scotland. Cf. the sestet of *Eccl. Son.* 1.2 and 1.5 in MS. F (p. 82). With his own memory of the Plain of Sarum and the 'Pile of Stonehenge,' and with Drayton's *Polyolbion* at hand, may not Wordsworth have turned to the lines on Stonehenge in the latter (3.57-64)?—

Conspirator with Time, now grown so mean and poor,
Comparing these his spirits with those that went before;
Yet rather art content thy builders' praise to lose,
Than passèd greatness should thy present wants disclose.
Ill did those mighty men to trust thee with their story,
Thou hast forgot their names, who rear'd thee for their glory:
For all their wondrous cost, thou that hast serv'd them so,
What 'tis to trust to tombs, by these we eas'ly know.

1 Turner, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* 1.178-9: 'The querulous and vague invectives of Gildas have been reduced to some chronology by Bede; and the broken narrations of Nennius have been dramatized by Geoffrey; but the labors of Bede have not lessened the original obscurity of Gildas; and all that the imagination of Geoffrey has effected has been to people the gloom with fantastic shapes, which in our search for authentic history only make us welcome the darkness that they vainly attempt to remove.' Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 3.45-6.

2 Dyer (*The Fleece, Poems*, p. 70) speaks of the Brigantes, 'inhabitants of Yorkshire,' and (*ibid.*, p. 79) of 'the sounding caves of high Brigantium.'

5 Cf. the proximity of 'Tradition' and 'Time' in *Polyolbion*, 6.298, 300.

6-8 Wordsworth (*Itin. Poems 1833* 32, 33, 34, 35) later celebrates the Western Isles and Iona in greater detail.

9 As 'monuments of eldest name' Miss Melville suggests the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses.

10 Among the notes on *Eccl. Son.* 1.10 (p. 218) a 'lay' of Taliesin is quoted for its content.

11 Stillingfleet (*Orig. Brit.*, pp. 37-48) searches the following writers of 'characters of Greek or Roman fame': Eusebius, Theodoret, Jerome, Clemens Romanus, Suetonius, Pliny, Tacitus, Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, and others. Wordsworth's familiarity with both Stillingfleet and Turner is proof that he was not uninformed on the bibliography of this period. If 'characters' refer to inscriptions, Miss Melville's suggestion will be recalled. Wordsworth would not have been critical as to the date of these and similar crosses or inscriptions.

12-14 Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.85-6: 'Our curiosity

to search further back into times past than we might well discern, and whereof we could neither have proof nor profit. How the beginnings of all people and states were as uncertain as the heads of great rivers.'

I.6

1-4 Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Hanmer, pp. 145-6, especially: 'When that cursed hypocrisy and dissimulation had swum even to the brim of malice, the heavy hand of God's high judgment, after his wonted manner . . . began softly by a little and a little to visit us; . . . when as we were touched with no sense or feeling thereof, neither went about to pacify God, we heaped sin upon sin, thinking like careless epicures that God neither cared neither would visit our sins; . . . then, I say then, the Lord according to the saying of Jeremiah (*Lament.* 2, 5) "Made the daughter Sion obscure, and overthrew from above the glory of Israel, and remembered not his footstool in the day of his wrath. The Lord hath drowned all the beauty of Israel, and overthrown all his strongholds." . . . It was the nineteenth year of Diocletian's reign . . . when the Emperor's proclamations were everywhere published, in which it was commanded that the churches should be made even with the ground; the holy Scriptures by burning of them should be abolished; . . . such as were of families if they retained the Christian faith should be deprived of their freedom. And such were the contents of the first edict. But in the proclamations which immediately followed after, it was added that the pastors throughout all parishes should first be imprisoned, next with all means possible constrained to sacrifice.'

6 Does 'field' indicate the soldiery? This seems probable from Eusebius' account (*ibid.*, p. 147): 'Of the persecution first raised by Veturius, the captain, against the Christian soldiers. . . . [He] first essayed only the Christians which were in camp.'

7-8 *Ibid.*, p. 146: 'We saw with our eyes the oratories overthrown down to the ground, yea and the very foundations themselves digged up, the holy and sacred Scriptures burned to ashes in the open market place, the pastors of the churches, whereof some shamefully hid themselves here and there, some other contumeliously taken and derided of the enemies.'

8 *Ibid.*, p. 160: 'When as the Ethnickes solemnized their public feasts, and celebrated their wonted spectacles, amongst other their merry news and gladsome wishes it was commonly noised abroad that the Christians lately condemned to wild beasts made all the sport and finished the solemnity. This report being far and nigh and everywhere bruited abroad, young striplings to the number of six, . . . joining hands and hearts together, . . . went with speed unto Urbanus, who a little before had let loose the ravening beasts to rend the Christians in pieces, and freely protested the Christian faith.' *Ibid.*, p. 148: 'Sudden bickering with ravening beasts, . . . the tusks of wild boars.'

9 *Ibid.*, p. 152: 'Daily . . . they found out new torments, contending one with another who could excel in spiteful inventions and additions of torment. This calamity was extreme and out of measure cruel. And when as thenceforth they despaired of increasing their mischief, and now were wearied with slaughter and got their fill of bloodshed, voluntarily they mitigate their rage, they practise courtesy, their pleasure (forsooth) is henceforth to punish with death no longer. It is not requisite (say they) that the cities should be stained with blood, . . . that the most noble empire of the Cæsars should be blemished and defamed with the title of cruelty, . . . yea rather the gracious goodness and clemency of the Emperor's highness is to be stretched forth and enlarged towards all men, that they be no more punished with death. They deemed their cruelty assuaged, and the Emperor's clemency to shine, in that they commanded our eyes to be plucked out, and the left leg to be unjointed. Such was their clemency and mitigated cruelty towards us.'

9-14 Bede's account of Alban's martyrdom may be read in the English translation by A. M. Sellar, pp. 14-17. In the original (ed. by Plummer, 1.18-21) 'minas' and 'se . . . ultro pro hospite . . . offerre' are important; cf. 'Threats' and 'self-offered victim' (lines 10, 11) as instances of exact translation. Wordsworth's note is as follows: 'This hill at St. Alban's must have been an object of great interest to the imagination of the venerable Bede, who thus describes it, with a delicate feeling, delightful to meet with in that rude age, traces of which are frequent in his works: "Variis herbarum floribus depictus imo usquequaque vestitus, in quo nihil repente arduum, nihil praeceps, nihil abruptum, quem lateribus longe lateque deductum in modum aequoris natura complanat, dignum videlicet eum pro insita sibi specie venustatis jam olim reddens, qui beati martyris cruore dicaretur."'

I.7

I Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 1.30, of the persecution of Diocletian: 'Dark and tempestuous was the morning of this century, which afterward cleared up to be a fair day.' Cf. *Journals* 1.3, 1.34, 2.19; *Ode 1814* 109-10; cf. also Virgil, *Georg.* 1.393, 422:

Nec minus ex imбри soles et aperta serena. . . .
Avium concentus in agris.

I-14 My italics in the following passages indicate Wordsworth's indebtedness to Hanmer's translation of Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.*, pp. 174-5, 184, 156): 'These things [Sabinus' letters in behalf of the Christians] being thus brought to pass, immediately after the sunbeams of peace shined brightly as if it had been after a dark or misty night. Then might a man have seen throughout every city congregations gathered together, often Synods, and there wonted meeting *celebrated*. . . . The noble champions of godliness being

set at liberty from the affliction they suffered in ye mine pits returned unto their own home, passing throughout every city with valiant and *cheerful* courage, with unspeakable joy, and replenished with inexplicable liberty of mind. They went in ye voyage and return lauding God in songs and psalms throughout that mid high ways, throughout the market-places and frequented assemblies. There mightest thou have seen them who a little before after most grievous punishments were fettered, and banished their native soil, to receive and enjoy their proper houses, with a *cheerful* and merry countenance, in so much that they which afore time cried out against us, now rejoiced together with us at this wonderful sight, happening beyond all men's expectation. . . . The thankfulness of the Christians for the peace granted unto them from above after the great *storm of persecution*. . . . Justly therefore we [Eusebius] place here in a perfect number [Book 10] the absolute and solemn sermon *gratulatory* of the *repairing of the churches*, obeying no doubt herein the Holy Ghost commanding after this sort: "*Sing unto the Lord a new song*, because he hath done marvelous things. With his own right hand and with his holy arm hath he gotten himself the victory. The Lord hath showed his salvation: in the sight of the heathen hath he openly declared his righteousness." In so much that these words of ye Prophet require a new song, of duty then we must have a song in our mouth, because that after ugly and dark spectacles, after *thundering* and terrible threats, we have been thought worthy now to see such things, and to *celebrate* such *solemnities*. . . . Such things had they prepared during the whole time of persecution, which in the tenth year (320) by the goodness of God wholly ceased, yet after the eighth year it began somewhat to slack and relent. For after that the divine and celestial grace of God beheld us with a placable and *merciful countenance*, then our princes, even they which hitherto warred against us, after a wonderful manner changed their opinion, sang a recantation, and quenched that great heat of persecution, with most benign and *mild* edicts and constitutions published everywhere in our behalf. *The cause of this was not the humanity or compassion (as I may so term it) or benignity of the princes, being far otherwise disposed* (for they invented daily more and more grievous things against us . . .), *but the apparent countenance of the divine providence, reconciled unto his people*, withstood the power of mischief, and quelled the author of impiety, and the worker of the whole persecution.' Cf. Stillingfleet, *Orig. Brit.*, p. 74: 'The Christians rebuilt their churches, destroyed to the ground, and therein celebrated their Holy Sacraments, and kept *solemn festivals* in memory of so great a *deliverance*.' If Wordsworth referred also to Bede, the words 'construunt' and 'renovant' may have been responsible for 're-constructed' and 'renewed' (lines 5-6). Cf. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.22.

I.8

1-14 Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.89-91, quoting from Tacitus the measures of Agricola for the subjugation of Britain: 'Advice was taken, saith he, that the people dispersed, rude, and so apt to rebellion, should be inured to ease and quiet by their pleasures; and therefore they exhorted privately, and aided them publicly to the building of temples, bourses, palaces; commending whom they found forward, and correcting the unwilling, so that the emulation of honor was for necessity; then they caused the principal men's sons to be taught the liberal sciences, extolling their wits for learning above the Gauls, in so much as they who lately scorned the Roman tongue, now desired eloquence. Hereupon grew our habits in honor, the gown frequent, and by degrees a general collapsion into those softening of *vices*, *fair houses*, *baths*, and *delicate banquets*; and that, by the ignorant, was termed humanity, when it was a part of servitude.' The phrase 'fair houses, baths, and delicate banquets' is proof that Wordsworth's source here was Daniel rather than Turner ('baths, porticoes, and sensual banquets'); but from Turner may have come 'luxury,' 'language,' and 'letters' (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* 1.97).

4-5 Cf. Coleridge, *Biog. Lit.*, ed. by Shawcross, 1.12: 'I remember to have compared Darwin's work to the Russian palace of ice, glittering, cold, and transitory.'

9 Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.851-3:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(Hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

11 *Ibid.* 1.282: 'Gentemque togatam.'

14 Daniel (*op. cit.* 4.91) refers to kings as 'instruments of servitude.'

I.9

1-3 Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.22) uses such words as 'vesaniae,' 'corrupto,' 'veneno,' 'pestilentiae,' 'hereseos'; and Fuller (*Ch. Hist.* 1.43) says of Arianism: 'But now, alas! the gangrene of that heresy began to spread itself into this island.'

2-5 Bede, *op. cit.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 21: 'Pelagius, a Briton, spread far and near [longe lateque] the infection of his perfidious doctrine, denying the assistance of the Divine Grace [contra auxilium gratiae supernae], being seconded therein by his associate, Julianus of Campania, who was impelled by an uncontrolled desire to recover his bishopric, of which he had been deprived.'

4-7 *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29: 'Nor were the laity only guilty of these things, but even our Lord's own flock, with its shepherds, casting off the easy yoke of Christ, gave themselves up to drunkenness, enmity, quarrels, strife, envy, and other such sins. . . . Whereupon, not long after, a more severe vengeance for their fearful crimes fell upon the sinful nation.'

8 Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* 1.178-207) traces in detail the course of the Roman evacuation and the invasion of the Picts and Scots; the account of Stillingfleet was also available (*Orig. Brit.*, ch. 5); and in lines 8-14 Bede's words are closely followed (*op. cit.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.26-8): 'non aliam ob causam quam si ipsi inertia solverentur,' 'segni populo,' 'flebili voce auxilium implorantes,' 'lacrimosis precibus,' 'sociis, quos derelinquere cgebantur,' 'valedicunt sociis tanquam ultra non reversuri,' 'trementi corde stupida,' 'miserrime,' and 'miseri.'

9-10 Turner, *op. cit.* 1.204, especially the following: 'Constantine could not repel the torrent, because the flower of his army was in Spain. Britain and Gaul experienced all its fury. The cities even of England were invaded. To whatever quarter they applied for help, the application was vain.' Cf. Wordsworth, *Desc. Scen. Lakes, Prose Works* 2.48-9.

11-14 Stillingfleet (*op. cit.*, p. 321) says of the Saxons: 'At first they seemed very zealous and hearty against their common enemies, and did great service in beating the Picts and Scots; . . . and it is easy to imagine how insolent such a barbarous people would grow upon their success, when they knew the Britons durst not oppose them. . . . It is certain, by what Gildas and Bede have left, that these heats soon brake out into open flames, to the ruin and desolation of the country.' Cf. Bede, *op. cit.*, tr. by Sellar, pp. 30-1: 'In a short time, swarms of the aforesaid nations came over into the island, and the foreigners began to increase so much that they became a source of terror to the natives themselves who had invited them. Then, having on a sudden entered into league with the Picts, whom they had by this time repelled by force of arms, they began to turn their weapons against their allies.'

This collection of passages with which Wordsworth must have been familiar in order to compose *Eccl. Son.* 1.9 illustrates the tangle of narrative out of which the sonnet grew. Lucid and swift as is the Wordsworthian account of the period, its historical proportions are right, and it has an allusive power both wide and rich.

I.10

1-2 Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* 1.293-300) debates with Davies the latter's opinion (*Mythology and Rites*, pp. 306-84) that the *Gododin* of Aneurin refers to the massacre of the British by Hengist on Salisbury Plain. Cf. Stillingfleet, *Orig. Brit.*, pp. 301, 324: 'After the translation of the *British History* by Geoffrey, the monkish historians generally follow that, as to the success of these battles, and as to the treachery used toward Vortigern by Hengist, upon Salisbury Plain, near Ambresbury; where it is said by Geoffrey that the Saxons killed 470 of the British nobility, under a pretence of a treaty of peace. Nennius saith but 300; and that Vortigern was then taken, and was forced to give Essex, Sussex,

and Middlesex for his redemption. . . . After this, as Gildas and Bede tell us, finding their case almost desperate, the Britons were resolved to sell their lives and liberties as dear as they could, and by making a fierce assault upon their enemies, they began to get the better of them.' Wordsworth knew Geoffrey; he also knew Fuller (*Ch. Hist.* 1.61), who refers to the Saxon perfidy against the British at a parley and banquet on Salisbury Plain. Drayton (*Polyolbion* 3.141-2) is in accord with Geoffrey and Fuller. As for the *Gododin*, Wordsworth here sides with Davies against Turner.

3-4 Cf. Milton, *Hist. Brit.*, ed. by Mitford, in *Works* 5.52-3; and Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.91-2.

5-7 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. Brit.*, bk. 9, ch. 4, ed. by Giles in *Six Old English Chronicles*, pp. 233-4: '[Arthur] addressed himself to his followers in these words: "Since these impious and detestable Saxons have disdained to keep faith with me, I . . . will endeavor to revenge the blood of my countrymen this day upon them. To arms! soldiers, to arms! and courageously fall upon the perfidious wretches, over whom we shall, with Christ assisting us, undoubtedly obtain the victory." . . . [Then, after the exhortation and benediction of the archbishop of Legions, he] put on a coat of mail suitable to the grandeur of so powerful a king, placed a golden helmet upon his head, on which was engraven the figure of a dragon; and on his shoulders his shield called Priwen; upon which the picture of the blessed Mary, mother of God, was painted, in order to put him frequently in mind of her.' Wordsworth used Aaron Thompson's translation of *Historia Britonum* by Geoffrey of Monmouth, but has borrowed very little from it for *Eccl. Son.* Thompson tried to prove Geoffrey a more faithful historian than he is reputed (see Giles, Preface to *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. ix); Wordsworth has usually followed the sedater chroniclers.

8-10 Turner (*op. cit.* 1.286) quotes a poem of Taliesin on Urien:

Neither the fields, nor the woods, gave safety to the foe,
When the shout of the Britons came
Like a wave raging against the shore—
I saw the brave warriors in array;
And after the morning, how mangled!
I saw the tumult of the perishing hosts;
The blood springing forward and moistening the ground.
Gwenystrad was defended by a rampart;
Wearied, on the earth, no longer verdant,
I saw, at the pass of the ford,
The blood-stained men dropping their arms;
Pale with terror!—
I admired the brave chief of Reged;
I saw his reddened brow,
When he rushed on his enemies at Llec gwen Calystan:
Like the bird of rage was his sword on their bucklers;
It was wielded with deadly fate.

11 *Ibid.* 3.508: 'Many of the remaining poems of Taliesin . . . show that mixture of the ancient Druidical feeling with their Christian faith.'

12-14 Davies, *Mythology and Rites*, p. 63: 'These Bards were warriors.' Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbion* 6.102:

Plynillimon's high praise no longer Muse defer:
What once the Druids told, how great those Floods should be
That here (most mighty Hill) derive themselves from thee.
The Bards with fury rapt, the *British* youth among,
Unto the charming Harp thy future honor song
In brave and lofty strains.

Cf. also Gray, *The Bard*.

1.11

1-3 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.11: 'Alluding to the victory gained under Germanus. See Bede.' Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, pp. 38-9: 'When, after the celebration of Easter, the greater part of the army, fresh from the font, began to take up arms [against the Saxons and Picts] and prepare for war, Germanus offered to be their leader. He picked out the most active, explored the country round about, and observed, in the way by which the enemy was expected, a valley encompassed by hills of moderate height. In that place he drew up his untried troops, himself acting as their general. And now a formidable host of foes drew near, visible, as they approached, to his men lying in ambush. Then, on a sudden, Germanus, bearing the standard, exhorted his men, and bade them all in a loud voice repeat his words. As the enemy advanced in all security, thinking to take them by surprise, the bishops three times cried, "Hallelujah." A universal shout of the same word followed, and the echoes from the surrounding hills gave back the cry on all sides; the enemy was panic-stricken, fearing not only the neighboring rocks, but even the very frame of heaven above them; and such was their terror, that their feet were not swift enough to save them. They fled in disorder, casting away their arms, and well satisfied if, even with unprotected bodies, they could escape the danger; many of them, flying headlong in their fear, were engulfed by the river which they had crossed.'

3-5 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

6 Turner, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* 3.320, The Battle of Brunanburh: 'The dreary relics of the darts.' Cf. Stillingfleet (*Orig. Brit.*, p. 325), who quotes Gildas, ch. 25; cf. also Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.99-100.

7 Jeremiah 9.1: 'Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!' Cf. also Wordsworth's *Epitaphs* 3, *Prose Works* 2.183.

9-14 Wordsworth, note on 1.11: 'The last six lines of the sonnet are chiefly from the prose of Daniel; and here I will state (though to the readers whom this poem will chiefly interest it is unnecessary) that my obligations to other prose writers are frequent—obligations which, even if I had not a pleasure in courting, it would have been presumptuous to shun, in treating an historical subject. I must, however, particularize Fuller, to whom I am indebted in the sonnet upon Wicliffe and in other instances. And upon the acquittal of the Seven Bishops I have done little more than versify a lively description of that event in the MS. *Memoirs of the first Lord Lonsdale*.' Cf. Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.101: '[Britain] having been so long a Province of great honor and benefit to the Roman Empire, could not but partake of the magnificence of their goodly structures, thermes, aqueducts, high-ways, and all other their ornaments of delight, ease, and greatness; all which came to be so utterly razed and confounded by the Saxons, as there is not left standing so much as the ruins to point us where they were; for they, being a people of a rough breeding that would not be taken with these delicacies of life, seemed to care for no other monuments but of earth, and as born in the field would build their fortunes only there. Witness so many intrenchments, mounts, and borroughs raised for tombs and defences upon all the wide champions and eminent hills of this isle, remaining yet as characters of the deep scratches made on the whole face of our country, to show the hard labor our progenitors endured to get it for us.'

1.12

1-2 Turner, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* 1.322, note: 'Brocmail was one of the patrons of Taliesin, who commemorates this struggle:

I saw the oppression of the tumult; the wrath and tribulation;
The blades gleaming on the bright helmets;
The battle against the Lord of Fame in the dales of Hafren;
Against Brocvail of Powys, who loved my muse.'

Davies, in the Appendix to *Mythology and Rites*, p. 502, prints a similar version of this song.

3 Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 6.112: *μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς*.

4-9 Turner, *op. cit.* 1.321: 'The Bernician conqueror, Ethelfrith, renewed his war with the Cymry. He reached Chester, through a course of victory. Apart from the forces of the Welsh, assembled under Brocmail, King of Powys, he perceived the monks of Bangor.' Wordsworth (note on 1.12) quotes Turner as follows: '“Ethelforth reached the convent of Bangor; he perceived the Monks, twelve hundred in number, offering prayers for the success of their countrymen. ‘If they are praying against us,’ he exclaimed, ‘they are fighting against us’; and he ordered them to be first attacked: they were destroyed; and, appalled by their fate, the courage of Brocmail wavered, and he fled from the field in dismay.

Thus abandoned by their leader, his army soon gave way, and Ethelforth obtained a decisive conquest. Ancient Bangor itself soon fell into his hands, and was demolished; the noble monastery was leveled to the ground [earth]; its library, which is mentioned as a large one, the collection of ages, the repository of the most precious monuments of the ancient Britons, was consumed; half ruined walls, gates, and rubbish were all that remained of the magnificent edifice." See Turner's valuable history of the Anglo-Saxons.

'Taliesin was present at the battle which preceded this desolation.

'The account Bede gives of this remarkable event suggests a most striking warning against national and religious prejudices.' Cf. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, pp. 87-8: 'The warlike king of the English, Ethelfrid, of whom we have spoken, having raised a mighty army, made a very great slaughter of that heretical nation, at the city of Legions [Chester], which by the English is called Legacaestir, but by the Britons more rightly Carlegion. . . . Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the holy Bishop Augustine, though he himself had been long before taken up into the heavenly kingdom, that the heretics should feel the vengeance of temporal death also, because they had despised the offer of eternal salvation.'

5 *Ibid.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.84: 'Quamvis arma non ferant, contra nos pugnant, qui adversis nos imprecationibus persequuntur.'

9-14 Daniel (*Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.100-1, 102, 103) says of the Saxon invaders: 'And with all these princes, and leaders, before they could establish their dominions, the Britons so desperately grappled, as plant they could not, but upon destruction and desolation of the whole country, whereof in the end they extinguished both the religion, laws, language, and all, with the people and name of Britain. . . . But this was an absolute subversion, and concurred with the universal mutation which about that time happened in all these parts of the world; whereof there was no one country or province but changed bounds, inhabitants, customs, language, and in a manner, all their names. . . . Wherefore, we are now to begin with a new body of people, with a new State and government of this land, which retained nothing of the former, nor held other memory but that of the dissolution thereof; where scarce a city, dwelling, river, hill, or mountain, but changed names.'

12 Knight, *P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.13: 'E.g., in the Lake District, the Greta, Derwent, etc.'

13 *Ibid.*: 'E.g., in the Lake District, Stone Arthur, Blencathara, and Catbells.'

1.13

1-14 Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 82: 'Nor must we pass by in silence the story of the blessed Gregory, handed down to us by the tradition of our ancestors, which explains his earnest care for the salvation of our nation. It is said that one day, when

some merchants had lately arrived at Rome, many things were exposed for sale in the market-place, and much people resorted thither to buy: Gregory himself went with the rest, and saw among other wares some boys put up for sale, of fair complexion, with pleasing countenances, and very beautiful hair. When he beheld them, he asked, it is said, from what region or country they were brought? and was told, from the island of Britain, and that the inhabitants were like that in appearance. He again inquired whether those islanders were Christians, or still involved in the errors of paganism, and was informed that they were pagans. Then fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his heart, "Alas! what a pity," said he, "that the author of darkness should own men of such fair countenances; and that with such grace of outward form, their minds should be void of inward grace." He therefore again asked, what was the name of that nation? and was answered, that they were called Angles. "Right," said he, "for they have an angelic face, and it is meet that such should be co-heirs with the Angels in heaven. What is the name of the province from which they are brought?" It was replied, that the natives of that province were called Deiri. "Truly are they *De Ira*," said he, "saved from wrath, and called to the mercy of Christ. How is the king of that province called?" They told him his name was Aelli; and he, playing upon the name, said, "Allelujah, the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts." Cf. Wordsworth's remark on an epitaph which 'brings home a general truth to the individual by the medium of a pun' (*Epitaphs* 2, *Prose Works* 2.151).

I.14

3-10 Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.45-6: '*Veniebant crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam, laetantiasque canentes pro sua simul et eorum, propter quos et ad quos venerant, salute aeterna, Domino supplicabant.*'

10-14 *Ibid.* 1.78, where Bede quotes Gregory (on Job): '*Ecce lingua Brittaniae, quae nil aliud noverat quam barbarum frendere, iam dudum in divinis laudibus Hebreum coepit alleluia resonare. Ecce quondam tumidus, iam substratus sanctorum pedibus, servit oceanus, eiusque barbaros motus, quos terreni principes edomare ferro nequiverant, hos pro divina formidine sacerdotum ora simplicibus verbis ligant, et qui catervas pugnantium infidelis nequaquam metueret, iam nunc fidelis humilium linguas timet.*' Cf. Bede's remark on the coming of Germanus and Severus (*ibid.* 1.40): '*Occurrit inscia multitudo, confestim benedictio et sermonis divini doctrina profunditur.*' Cf. also Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.103, especially the following: '*. . . when their stern asperity grew mollified by humility of the religion.*' My italics indicate Wordsworth's indebtedness and his skill in translation.

1.15

1-3 Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.108-10; tr. by Sellar, pp. 113-14), after describing Edwin's peril of death from Redwald, says: 'Edwin remained alone without, and sitting with a heavy heart [mestus] before the palace, began to be overwhelmed with many thoughts, not knowing what to do, or which way to turn. When he had remained a long time in silent anguish of mind [mentis angoribus], . . . troubled [mestus] and wakeful . . .' Here follows the account of the spirit appearing to comfort and direct the royal youth.

4-9 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.15: 'The person of Paulinus is thus described by Bede, from the memory of an eye-witness: "Longae staturae, paululum incurvus, nigro capillo, facie macilenta, naso adunco, pertenui, venerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu."' *Op. cit.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.117. Cf. the description of the elder Norton (*White Doe* 744-5): 'A face to fear and venerate.'

9-14 Turner, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* 1.344-5: 'The vicissitudes of Edwin's life had indued his mind with a contemplative temper, which made him more intellectual than any of the Anglo-Saxon kings that had preceded him, and which fitted him for the reception of Christianity. His progress towards this revolution of mind was gradual, and the steps have been clearly narrated by his countryman Bede.' Cf. Bede, *op. cit.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 115: 'King Edwin, therefore, delaying to receive the Word of God at the preaching of Paulinus, and being wont for some time, as has been said, to sit many hours alone, and seriously to ponder with himself what he was to do, and what religion he was to follow, the man of God came to him one day, laid his right hand on his head, and asked whether he knew that sign.'

11-13 *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 105: 'Nor did he refuse to accept that religion himself, if, being examined by wise men, it should be found more holy and more worthy of God. . . . He would not immediately and unadvisedly embrace the mysteries of the Christian faith, though he no longer worshipped idols, ever since he made the promise that he would serve Christ; but first took heed earnestly to be instructed at leisure by the venerable Paulinus, in the knowledge of the faith, and to confer with such as he knew to be the wisest of his chief men, inquiring what they thought was fittest to be done in that case. And being a man of great natural sagacity, he often sat alone by himself a long time in silence, deliberating in the depths of his heart how he should proceed, and to which religion he should adhere.'

13-14 *Ibid.*, p. 116: 'Holding a council with the wise men, he asked of every one in particular what he thought of this doctrine hitherto unknown to them, and the new worship of God that was preached.'

I.16

I-14 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* I.16: 'See the original of this speech in Bede.' Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, pp. 116-7: '“The present life of man upon earth, O King, seems to me, in comparison with that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the house wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your ealdormen and thegns, while the fire blazes in the midst, and the hall is warmed, but the wintry storms of rain or snow are raging abroad. The sparrow, flying in at one door and immediately out at another, whilst he is within, is safe from the wintry tempest; but after a short space of fair weather, he immediately vanishes out of your sight, passing from winter into winter again. So this life of man appears for a little while, but of what is to follow or what went before we know nothing at all. If, therefore, this new doctrine tells us something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed.”' Wordsworth, however, saw this speech first in Fuller's *Church History*, as is proved by comparing MS. F (p. 84) with Fuller's translation (I.109): '“Man's life,” said he, “O King, is like unto a little sparrow, which, whilst your majesty is feasting by the fire in your parlor with your royal retinue, flies in at one window, and out at another. Indeed, we see it that short time it remaineth in the house, and then is it well sheltered from wind and weather; but presently it passeth from cold to cold; and whence it came, and whither it goes, we are altogether ignorant. Thus, we can give some account of our soul during its abode in the body, whilst housed and harbored therein; but where it was before, and how it fareth after, is to us altogether unknown. If therefore Paulinus's preaching will certainly inform us herein, he deserveth, in my opinion, to be entertained.' But there are two versions in MS. F. It is reasonable to suppose that the change from 'Man's life is like a sparrow, Mighty King' to 'The life of man may be compared, O King' was made after Wordsworth had read in Bede (*op. cit.*, ed. by Plummer, I.112) the original '*ad comparationem*.' The second reading, however, was not retained.'

I.17

I-14 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* I.16: 'The conversion of Edwin, as related by him [Bede], is highly interesting—and the breaking up of this Council accompanied with an event so striking and characteristic, that I am tempted to give it at length in a translation. “‘Who,’ exclaimed the King, when the Council was ended, ‘shall first desecrate the altars and the temples?’ ‘I,’ answered the Chief Priest; ‘for who more fit than myself, through the wisdom which the true God hath given me, to destroy, for the good example of others, what in foolishness I worshipped?’ Immediately, casting away vain superstition, he besought the King to grant him what the laws did not allow to a priest, arms and a

courser (equum emissarium); which mounting, and furnished with a sword and lance, he proceeded to destroy the Idols. The crowd, seeing this, thought him mad. He, however, halted not, but, approaching, he profaned the temple, casting against it the lance which he had held in his hand, and, exulting in acknowledgment of the worship of the true God, he ordered his companions to pull down the temple, with all its enclosures. The place is shown where those Idols formerly stood, not far from York, at the source of the river Derwent, and is at this day called Gormund Gaham, ubi pontifex ille, inspirante Deo vero, polluit ac destruxit eas, *quas ipse sacraverat aras.*" The last expression is a pleasing proof that the venerable monk of Wearmouth was familiar with the poetry of Virgil.' (Cf. *Aeneid* 3.305, 4.200.)

1 Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.35), to describe the effect of the teaching of Germanus and Lupus, uses a phrase which Wordsworth has here applied: 'Itaque regionis universitas in eorum sententiam prompta transierat.' Sellar's translation of 'prompta transierat,' 'readily came over,' is verbally less suggestive of the original than Wordsworth's 'prompt transformation.' 'Novel lore' may well be a reminiscence of Ethelbert's speech to Augustine, as given by Bede (*ibid.* 1.46): 'Pulchra sunt quidem verba et promissa, quae adfertis; sed quia nova sunt et incerta . . .'; or of 'haec nova doctrina' in the speech of the sage to Edwin (*ibid.* 1.112).

4 The original version (ed. by Plummer, 1.113) has 'fana idolorum.'

5-8 Fuller (*Ch. Hist.* 1.82) describes Thor with 'a kingly sceptre in his right hand.' Of Woden he says: 'He was the god of battle, by whose aid and furtherance they hoped to obtain victory.'

9-10 Bede, *op. cit.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.35: 'Latebant abditi sinistrae persuasionis auctores, et more maligni spiritus, gemebant perire sibi populos evadentes.'

10-11 Bede (*op. cit.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 126) quotes a letter from Pope Honorius to the Bishop Honorius who succeeded Justus at Canterbury: 'Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you' (Matthew 11.28).

12 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.17: 'The early propagators of Christianity were accustomed to preach near rivers, for the convenience of baptism.'

12-14 Bede (*op. cit.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.47) is here the source of words as well as of substance: 'At ubi ipse [rex] etiam inter alios delectatus ['rejoice'] vita mundissima sanctorum, et promissis ['promise'] eorum suavissimis, quae vera esse miraculorum quoque multorum ostensione firmaverat, credens baptizatus est, coepere plures cotidie ad audiendum ['heard'] verbum confluere ac, relicto gentilitatis ritu ['rite'], unitati se sanctae ['sanctity'] Christi ecclesiae credendo sociare.'

I.18

1-2, 12 Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.66) quotes a letter from Gregory to Augustine: 'Gaudeas videlicet, quia Anglorum animae per exteriora miracula ad interiorem gratiam pertrahuntur.'

3-10 Bede (*op. cit.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 330) recounts the vision of Drythelm, addressing 'those who, being terrified with the dread of torments, or ravished with the hope of everlasting joys, would draw from his words the means to advance in piety.' He recalls (*op. cit.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.305) Virgil's line, 'sola sub nocte per umbras [umbram]' (*Aeneid* 6.268). *Eccl. Son.* 1.18.3-10 are so like the vision of Drythelm, that on the latter rather than on the numerous other visions recorded by the monk of Jarrow must the sonnet have been based. The vision follows (tr. by Sellar, pp. 327-8): 'I beheld a crowd of evil spirits dragging five souls of men, wailing and shrieking, into the midst of the darkness, whilst they themselves exulted and laughed. . . . Being thus on all sides encompassed with enemies and shades of darkness, and casting my eyes hither and thither if haply anywhere help might be found whereby I might be saved, there appeared behind me, on the way by which I had come, as it were, the brightness of a star shining amidst the darkness; which waxing greater by degrees, came rapidly towards me; and when it drew near, all those evil spirits, that sought to carry me away with their tongs, dispersed and fled. Now he, whose approach put them to flight, was the same that led me before; who . . . began to lead me . . . towards the rising of the winter sun, and having soon brought me out of the darkness, led me forth into an atmosphere of clear light.' Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 2.1032-3.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 328-9: 'Lo! there was a wide and pleasant plain full of such fragrance of blooming flowers that the marvellous sweetness of the scents immediately dispelled the foul stench.'

8-10 Bede (*ibid.*, pp. 233-4), in his account of another vision, uses such phrases as 'wherewith the sun at noonday might seem dark' and 'the rays of light . . . seemed to exceed the utmost brightness of daylight.' The Latin (ed. by Plummer, 1.220) reads 'sol meridianis' and 'radii lucis omnem diurni luminis viderentur superare fulgorem.'

10-11 Bede (*ibid.* 1.222) uses the words 'quasi funibus auro clarioribus in superna tolleretur,' 'it was raised on high as it were by cords brighter than gold.' He adds: 'Nec dubium remansit cogitanti de visione, quin aliquis de illa congregatione citius esset moriturus, cuius anima per bona, quae fecisset, opera, quasi per funes aureos levanda esset ad caelos.' Again (*ibid.* 1.308), we have a reference to that flowery place 'in quo recipiuntur animae eorum, qui in bonis quidem operibus de corpore exeunt'; Gregory had written to Ethelbert of Augustine (*ibid.* 1.68) as 'bonis auctore Deo operibus praeditus'; and Aidan's influence on the faithful is indicated (*ibid.* 1.136) by 'Operumque bonorum executionem.'

The strong contrast in this sonnet between evil spirits and good spirits is to be expected from one whose eyes had fallen on Bede's reiterated phrases: 'bonos sive malos spiritus,' 'angeli . . . daemones.'

Since the opposition between 'eternal interests' and 'natural lot' is so marked, comment upon the two ideas is not out of place. 'Eternal' occurs 8 times in *Eccl. Son*; 'natural,' 6 times. 'Eternity' does not occur; 'Nature' occurs 5 times. Compare the following data:

	'Nature'	'Natural'	'Eternity'	'Eternal'
<i>Prelude</i>	95	16	7	0
<i>Excursion</i>	78	23	6	7

1.19

1-14 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son*. 1.19: 'Having spoken of the zeal, disinterestedness, and temperance of the clergy of those times, Bede thus proceeds: "Unde et in magna erat veneratione tempore illo religionis habitus, ita ut ubicunque clericus aliquis, aut monachus adveniret, gaudentur ab omnibus tanquam Dei famulus exciperetur. Etiam si in itinere pergens inveniretur, accurrebant, et flexa cervice, vel manu signari, vel ore illius se benedici, gaudebant. Verbis quoque horum exhortatoriis diligenter auditum praebebant." Lib. iii. cap. 26.'

2-3 Bede, *Eccl. Son.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 144: 'He [Aidan, circ. 635 A. D.] neither sought nor loved anything of this world; . . . he [traveled] on foot . . . to the end that, as he went, he might turn aside to any whomsoever he saw, whether rich or poor, and call upon them, if infidels, to receive the mystery of the faith, or, if they were believers, strengthen them in the faith, and stir them up by words and actions to giving of alms and the performance of good works.' That Aidan, although not a Saxon, is the particular priest of whom Wordsworth thinks is indicated by the following words in the Latin text (ed. by Plummer, 1.136): *incedens*—'meet' (line 9), *aspexisset*—'Apparition' (line 10). They are used of Aidan.

4 Cf. *Journals* 1.11, 121.

5 Bede (*op. cit.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.225) uses these words in regard to Sebbi [circ. 694 A. D.]: '*piis elimosynarum fructibus*,' pious fruits of almsgiving.

8 Cf. *Vaudracour and Julia* 44.

11-12 Bede (*op. cit.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 166): '[Oswin, King of Deira] ungirt his sword and gave it to a servant, and hastened to the Bishop [Aidan] and fell down at his feet, beseeching him to forgive him.'

13 Bede, *op. cit.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.191: '*Tota cura cordis excolendi*.'

I.20

1-14 This sonnet may have been suggested by Turner's discussion of systems of 'deprecation, adoration, expiation, reconciliation, and supplication' (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* 3.508-9): 'It is upon their feelings, rather than upon their reason, that mankind base their belief, not in religion alone, but in all things which they accredit or uphold.' Some twenty pages further on (*ibid.* 3.528) is the account of the erection of Ramsey monastery, referred to in the poet's note on 1.24. In this episode Edgar's ealdorman, whose 'sacred structure' Ramsey is, builds in memory of a brother who has died; and of the monks who will inhabit the 'quiet fortress' it is said (cf. lines 11-12): 'By their merits . . . the prisons are opened; the fettered released.'

2-5 Cf. *Maternal Grief* 73: 'The vanities of grief.'

6-7 Cf. *Excursion* 3.695-701; and *Epitaphs*, P. W., Oxford ed., p. 932.

8-12 See Littledale (*Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, 1905, p. 255) for Wordsworth's remark to Bishop Wordsworth: 'The ministry of confession is provided to satisfy the natural desire for some relief from the load of grief. Here, as in so many other respects, the Church of Rome adapts herself with consummate skill to our nature, and is strong by our weaknesses. Almost all her errors and corruptions are abuses of what is good.'

13-14 Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.66) quotes Gregory's letter to Augustine, in which occurs this same warning: 'Pertimescas vero, ne inter signa, quae fiunt, infirmus animus in sui praesumptione se eleuet, et unde foras in honorem tollitur, inde per inanem gloriam intus cadat.'

Wordsworth's opinion on the use and abuse of the instrument may be found in the following passages: *Letters* 1.200; *Prose Works* 1.314, and 2.177; *Excursion* 9.188; and *Letters* 2.35.

I.21

1 Cf. *White Doe* 516-20; and Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.321: 'Regni sceptrā reliquit.'

2-3 Cf. *Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff*, *Prose Works* 1.13-14: 'If your Lordship has travelled in the democratic cantons of Switzerland, you must have seen the herdsmen with the staff in one hand and the book in the other.'

4-6 Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.104: 'Divers of them [the Saxon Kings] renounced their temporal dignities for spiritual solitude, and became monks: as Æthelred and Kired, kings of Mercna-land; Offa, king of the East Saxons; Kadwalla and Inc, Kings of the West Saxons; Eadbert, king of Northumbrians, &c.' Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 172: 'This king [Sigbert of East Anglia, circ. 631 A. D.] became so great a lover of the heavenly

kingdom, that at last, quitting the affairs of his kingdom, and committing them to his kinsman, Ecgric, who before had a share in that kingdom, he entered a monastery, which he had built for himself, and having received the tonsure, applied himself rather to do battle for a heavenly throne. . . . [Taken from his monastery unwillingly to do battle against Penda], he would carry nothing in his hand but a wand.'

7-14 Wordsworth, *Memoirs*, ed. by Reed, 2.486: 'In the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* the lines concerning the Monk, "Within his cell . . .," were suggested to me by a beautiful tree clad as thus described, which you may remember in Lady Fleming's park at Rydal, near the path to the upper waterfall.' Cf. *Journals* 1.3: 'Walked through the wood to Holford. The ivy twisting round the oaks like bristled serpents.' Cf. also Shakespeare, *Mid. Night's Dream* 4.1.49-50; Virgil, *Ec.* 5.32; and Milton's use of the figure in *Reformation*.

I.22

1-14 Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 177) refers to Fursa, who, after building monasteries at Lough Corrib and Cnobheresburg, 'became desirous to rid himself of all business of this world, and even of the monastery itself, and forthwith left the care of it and of its souls to his brother, Fullan, and the priests Gobban and Dicull, and being himself free from all worldly affairs, resolved to end his life as a hermit.'

2-9 Cf. Wordsworth, *Desc. Scen. Lakes, Prose Works* 2.90-1; and Dorothy Wordsworth, *Journals* 2.224, 232-3, 256. *Glen Almain* 23-9, *Inscriptions Supposed to be Found in and near a Hermit's Cell*, and *The Brownie's Cell*, were previously written, and show by comparison what Wordsworth's material became when shaped into a sonnet. Refer also to *Excursion* 2.349-69.

6 The collocation of 'heaven' and 'pool' should be noted in *Resolution* 54; also in the two lines which Coleridge felt to be so characteristic of Wordsworth, *Prelude* 5.387-8. Moreover, *Duddon* 22.2, 23.4, and 24 are not alien to the imagery and temper of this sonnet.

9-14 The 'beechen bowl' makes its reappearance from *Prelude* 8.206, where it was part of the 'smooth life' of 'flock and shepherd in old time,' led in country such as the poet saw near the imperial walls of Goslar; a 'sweet life' which had been set aside, as a conception, for what were not 'appearances,' 'shadows,' 'fancies,' and 'delusions' (*Prelude* 8.173-339). The 'maple dish' of the hermit with 'visionary views' had likewise been discredited in *Excursion* 5.687. From *The Excursion* (6.327), too, come the owl, and the fowl loved by the Wanderer (2.45); and the phrase 'thorp . . . vill' (8.100). On the subject of Wordsworth's pastorals, see Leslie N. Broughton, *The Theocritean Element in the Works of William Wordsworth*. Cf. in particular the bowl in the

first idyl of Theocritus, and the two beechen cups which Menalcas stakes (Virgil, *Ec.* 3.36). Cf. also Milton, *Comus* 390-1.

Whatever the pastoral beauty of *Eccl. Son.* 1.22, Wordsworth uses its imagery chiefly as a foil to the ideas of 1.23. If we except *The Point at Issue*, 2.30, no part of *Eccl. Son.* is more typical than the transition between 1.22 and 1.23. The 'but' of 1.23.1 echoes the 'yet' of *Prelude* 8.215.

1.23

1-3 Camden, *Britain*, tr. by Holland, 744 B: 'When he [Bede] was once dead, there was buried with him, as William of Malmsbury saith, all the knowledge, well near, of acts and monuments, until our time. For when there succeeded ever one more lazy than another, the heat of good studies was abated and cooled through the whole land.'

4-5 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 1.150: 'Venerable . . . a title neither too high nor too low; just even to so good a man and great a scholar, whilst alive.'

5 *Ibid.* 1.149, 151: '[Bede] was the profoundest scholar in his age, for Latin, Greek; philosophy, history, divinity, mathematics, music, and what not? Homilies of his making were read in his lifetime in the Christian churches, a dignity afforded to him alone. We are much beholding to his *Ecclesiastical History*, written by him and dedicated to Ceolwulfus, king of Northumberland. . . . A foreign ambassador, some two hundred years since, coming to Durham, addressed himself first to the high and sumptuous shrine of St. Cuthbert. "If thou beest a saint, pray for me"; then, coming to the plain, low, and little tomb of Bede, "Because," said he, "thou art a saint, good Bede, pray for me."'

5-6 *Ibid.* 1.150: 'Some report that Bede never went out of his cell, but lived and died therein.'

7-9, 12 Camden, *Britain*, tr. by Holland, 744 B: 'Here [at Jarrow] our Bede, the singular glory and ornament of England, who for his piety and learning got the surname of Venerabilis, bestowed all diligence, as himself saith, in meditation of the Scriptures, and amid the most boisterous billows and surging waves of barbarism wrote many learned volumes.'

9 Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.357: 'Semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere dulce habui.'

14 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.23: 'He expired dictating the last words of [1822—"in the act of concluding"] a translation of St. John's Gospel.' Fuller (*Ch. Hist.* 1.151) was the source of Wordsworth's note: 'One of the last things he [Bede] did was the translating of the Gospel of St. John into English. When death seized on him, one of his devout scholars, whom he used for his secretary or amanuensis, complained, "My beloved master, there remains yet one sentence unwritten." "Write it, then, quickly,"

replied Bede, and, summoning all his spirits together, like the last blaze of a candle going out, he indited it, and expired.' Cf. *Letters* 2.257 and *Misc. Son.* 3.44.

Eccl. Son. 1.23 should be read with The Solitary of *The Excursion* in mind by contrast. 'Sublime Recluse!' (line 9) refers us to other and more tentative definitions of the recluse. Cf. also *Excursion*, 5.20-48, *The Recluse* entire, and 2.5 of this series.

1.24

1-14 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.24: 'See in Turner's History, vol. iii, p. 528, the account of the erection of Ramsey Monastery. Penances were removable by the performance of acts of charity and benevolence.' Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* 3.527-8) quotes from the *Hist. Ram.*: 'On the death of a favorite nobleman of Edgar's court, his brother, an ealdorman, expressed to Bishop Oswald his desire to pursue a better system of life than his worldly occupations permitted. Oswald assured him that his secular affairs would but give him so many opportunities of doing good, if he was careful to observe a conscientious spirit of equity, a merciful moderation, and a constant intention of right conduct. *But he added that they only were free, serene, and released from all danger and anxiety, who renounced the world; and that their piety brought blessings on their country.* "By their merits, the anger of the Supreme Judge is abated; a healthier atmosphere is granted; corn springs up more abundantly; famine and pestilence withdraw; the State is better governed; the prisons are opened; the fettered released; the shipwrecked are relieved; and the sick recover." Oswald ended his speech by advising him, if he had any place in his territory fitted for a monastery, to build one upon it, promising to contribute to its maintenance.' The italics are mine.

1 *Ibid.* 3.528: 'The workmen labored as much from devotion as for profit.'

2 Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.430 ff: 'Qualis apes . . .' Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 1.768 ff.

3-10 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 1.207: 'O, with what might and main did they mount their walls, both day and night! erroneously conceiving that their souls were advantaged to heaven, when taking the rise from the top of a steeple of their own erection!'

5 Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 246) describes Wilfrid's influence in Sussex: 'No rain had fallen in that district for three years before his arrival in the province. . . . But on the very day on which the nation received the Baptism of the faith, there fell a soft but plentiful rain; the earth revived, the fields grew green again, and the season was pleasant and fruitful.'

7 *Ibid.*, p. 272, for Hilda's journey from Hartlepool to Whitby, where she built or set in order a monastery, teaching 'the strict observance of . . . justice, piety, chastity, and other virtues, and particularly of peace and charity.'

11-12 Turner, *op. cit.* 3.541-2: 'The following is one of their regulations on this subject: "Many men may redeem their penances by alms; . . . he that hath ability may . . . free his own slaves, and redeem the liberty of those of other masters, and especially the poor captives of war."'

1.25

1-2 Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, pp. 147-8) uses the figure 'sow the seed of the holy faith,' 'sanctae fidei semina esse sparsurum,' in regard to the conversion of the West Saxons by Birinus; among English apostles to 'barbarous shores' are: Wilbrord to Friesland (*ibid.*, p. 320), Hewald to the Old Saxons (*ibid.*, p. 321), and Boniface and Adalbert to Germany (Turner, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* 3.518-9).

3-4 Bede refers to Wilfrid in this connection (*op. cit.*, p. 347); and to Otfor (*ibid.*, p. 273).

5-6, 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 356-7, Wilfrid's epitaph: 'Here rests the body of the great Bishop Wilfrid, who, for love of piety, built these courts, and consecrated them with the noble name of Peter, to whom Christ, the Judge of all the earth, gave the keys of Heaven. And devoutly he clothed them with gold and Tyrian purple; yea, and he placed here the trophy of the Cross, of shining ore, uplifted high; moreover he caused the four books of the Gospel to be written in gold in their order, and he gave a case meet for them of ruddy gold. And he also brought the holy season of Easter, returning in its course, to accord with the true teaching of the catholic rule which the Fathers fixed, and, banishing all doubt and error, gave his nation sure guidance in their worship. And in this place he gathered a great throng of monks, and with all diligence safeguarded the precepts which the Fathers' rule enjoined. And long time sore vexed by many a peril at home and abroad, when he had held the office of a bishop forty-five years, he passed away, and with joy departed to the heavenly kingdom. Grant, O Jesus, that the flock may follow in the path of the shepherd.' Acca, Wilfrid's successor, enriched Hagustald and St. Andrew with relics, books, adornments (*ibid.*, p. 358).

7-9 Cf. the Dedication to *The White Doe* 1-8, 33-40. The story of Una was one of the two which Wordsworth held 'pre-eminently dear' (*Pers. Talk* 40, 42).

9-13 Wordsworth wrote to Francis Wrangham, Nov. 20, [1795], (*Letters* 1.89): 'I suppose you were too busy to go on with *The Destruction of Babylon*.' Cf. Wrangham's *The Restoration of the Jews* and *The Destruction of Babylon*, *Poems*, pp. 15-16 and 43:

Past is the fame of Egypt; whose pale son
Erst by the midnight lamp, with learned toil
Skilful to wind the hieroglyphic maze,
Por'd on the treasur'd page by double fate
Denied to future times. With prone descent
Great *Babylon* is fallen; amid the dust,

Vainly inquisitive, the traveller pries
In fruitless search where Syrian BELUS rear'd
His idol form: No human trace around
Informs his doubtful step; no friendly tone
Breaks the disastrous silence . . .

Beneath the waves
Old Tyre is whelm'd, and all her revelry:
Those hosts, who barter'd ISRAEL'S sons for gold
(The Traffickers of blood) no more renew
Th' abhorred merchandize; no more with glance
Of keen remark compute the sinew's force,
Or weigh the muscles of their fellow-man.
Now stoops that tower, from whose broad top the eye
Of infant Science pierc'd the midnight sky; . . .
Vain all her study!

13-14 Bede (*op. cit.*, p. 214) indicates with emphasis the classical attainments of Hadrian and of Theodore. He continues (*ibid.*, pp. 216-17): 'And forasmuch as both of them were, as has been said before, fully instructed both in sacred and in secular letters, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and *rivers of wholesome knowledge daily flowed from them to water the hearts of their hearers*; and, together with the books of Holy Scripture, they also taught them the metrical art, astronomy, and ecclesiastical arithmetic. A testimony whereof is, that there are still living at this day some of their scholars, who are as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own, in which they were born.' Cf. Dante, *Inferno* 1.79-80.

1.26

I-14 Wordsworth had previously conceived the character of Alfred in an imaginary speech (*A Fact, and an Imagination* 24-43). Cf. Milton's account of Alfred (*Hist. Brit.*).

1 Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* 1.503) says of Alfred's mother: 'She is said to have given him to Swithin, the preceptor of his father, to be taught.' Also (*ibid.* 1.509): 'In Alfred's journey through France, he was very hospitably treated by Bertinus and Grimbald.' As instructors of Alfred the following are indicated (*ibid.* 2.141-2): Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester; Plegmund, a Mercian, Archbishop of Canterbury; Ethelstan and Werwulf, Mercian priests; Johannes Erigena, monk; Asser, of St. David's. Turner adds (*ibid.* 2.147): 'To John Erigena, to Grimbald, to Asser, and Plegmund, Alfred himself ascribes his acquisition of the Latin language' (Preface to Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*).

2 Turner, *op. cit.* 2.278: 'One of the principal features of Alfred's useful life was his earnest piety.' *Ibid.* 2.302-3, 306: 'This indefatigable king made also a code of laws, with the concurrence of his witena-gemot or parliament, which has been called his Dom-boc. . . . That Alfred was assiduous to procure to his people the blessing of a correct and able administration of justice, we have the general testimony of Asser.'

3 *Ibid.* 2.87: 'His early predilection for the Saxon poetry and music had qualified him to assume the character of an harper; and thus disguised, he went to the Danish tents.' See also (*ibid.* 2.157-9) Alfred's version of the story of Orpheus and Eurydice. To Alfred as a 'deliverer' and 'defender' Wordsworth had previously referred in the *Convention of Cintra*, *Prose Works* 1.203.

4 Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.107: 'Alfred, the mirror of Princes.'

9-10 Turner, *op. cit.* 2.275: 'Alfred was an exact economist of his time.'

10 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.26: 'Through the whole of his life, Alfred was subject to grievous maladies.' Cf. Turner, *op. cit.* 2.309-10.

12-14 *Ibid.* 2.297-9: 'His embassy to India, to the shrine of St. Thomas, is as expressive of his mind and public spirit as any other action of his life. No other potentate in Europe could in that day have conceived it, because no other had acquired that knowledge which would have interested them in a country so remote and unknown. The embassy displays not only the extent of Alfred's information, but that searching curiosity which characterized his understanding. . . . Malmsbury, who gives the fullest account of the incident, says that the king sent many presents over sea to Rome, and to St. Thomas, in India; that Sighelm, the bishop of Shireburn, was his ambassador, who penetrated with great success to India, to the admiration of the age; and that he brought with him, on his return, many foreign gems and aromatic liquors, the produce of the country. Cf. also the note, *op. cit.* 2.300: 'In 870, three monks, desirous to see the places so celebrated in the Christian writings, undertook a journey thither [to Jerusalem]. Their itinerary, written by Bernard, one of the travellers, is extant.'

1.27

1-4 Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.109: 'And within this circumference of order, he [Alfred] held him in that irregularity of fortune with a weak disposition of body, and reigned 27 years, leaving his son Edward a worthy successor to maintain the line of nobleness thus begun by him.' For the revision of these lines in 1837, see p. 49. Cf. Daniel, *op. cit.* 4.111: 'Edred, his [Edmund's] brother preferred to the kingdom before them [Edmund's two sons]; who (making no variation from the line of virtue continued by his ancestors) was held perpetually in work by the Danes during the whole time of his reign, which was of ten years.'

5 *Ibid.* 4.110: 'And surely his father [Alfred], he [Edward], and many that succeeded during this Danicq war, though they lost their ease, won much glory and renown.' Cf. 'Indigent Renown' in *Eccl. Son.* 1.26.4.

6-7 Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* 2.314 ff.) recounts the dangers which threatened Edward: the attempt of Ethelwold to gain the throne, uprisings of the Danes, the invasion of Northmen from Armorica. Athelstan's danger was a confederation of Northmen, Anglo-Danes, Picts, Scots, Orkneymen, and Welsh. Turner's image (*ibid.* 2.331) is akin to that of Wordsworth: 'He [Athelstan] prepared to meet the storm with firmness and energy.'

8-14 The figure of the oak-tree to represent a sturdy lineage is frequent in Daniel's *Collection*. Cf. *op. cit.* 4.123, 125. Wordsworth had often used or referred to this figure: *Convention of Cintra*, *Prose Works* 1.227; *Westmoreland 2*, *Prose Works* 2.312. There was an oak at Michael's door (*Michael* 165). *The Oak of Guernica*, *The Prior's Oak* (*White Doe* 34), and the Lord's Oak (*Excursion* 7.622) were all associated in Wordsworth's mind with conceptions of dignity and power. To oak and sycamore he had compared the Wanderer and the Pastor (*Excursion* 5.455-61). The same 'forest oaks of Druid memory' (*Eccl. Son.* 3.39.7) had spread over the early Christian monks: The Field of Oaks, Dearmach [Durrow in Leinster], where Columba built a monastery (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 142), and Augustine's Oak (Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 1.89). The Dedication (45-54) of *The White Doe* has the image of forest-tree, and tempest breaking over wide realms; and the picture of Emily under the leafless oak (*White Doe* 1629-38) is similar to the quiet ending of this sonnet. Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 2.291-7.

10-14 Daniel, *op. cit.* 4.112: 'He [Edgar] seems the first and most absolute monarch of this land that hitherto we find: the general peace that held all his time honored his name with the title of Pacificus; and rendered his kingdom (never before acquainted with the glory of quietness) very flourishing. But as if the same had been given to show, and not to use (like a short calm betwixt storms), it lasted but little beyond his reign of sixteen years.'

14 Knight, *P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.26: 'As pre-eminently, in the wood by the road, half-way from Rydal to Ambleside.' Cf. *Journals* 1.221. Wordsworth in a letter to Alex. Dyce, May 10, 1830 (*Letters* 2.427), quoted from the Countess of Winchelsea's *Aristomenes*, a passage of which this is reminiscent:

Love's soft bands,
His gentle cords of *hyacinths* and roses,
Wove in the dewy spring when storms are silent.

Cf. also *The Tree*, by the Countess of Winchelsea, in *Poems and Extracts . . . Lady Mary Lowther*, ed. by Littledale, London, 1905, pp. 20-1.

1.28

1-14 This sonnet is a signal instance of Wordsworth's power over his material. His source was Turner's *Hist. Angl. Sax.* 2.385-418, 428-30. The essential ideas of these 35 pages are all present in the 14 lines of 1.28.

1-2 *Ibid.* 2.391: 'Youthful ambition is the parent of much excellence,' and 'His means were the most honorable he could employ.'

2 *Ibid.* 2.416: 'The best part of Dunstan's character was his taste for knowledge and the civilizing arts. The questionable features are those of his politics, and real or pretended enthusiasm.' Of Dunstan's cell in the earth Turner asks (*ibid.* 2.396): 'Do not such singularities as these reveal either an inflamed imagination in the sincere, or a crafty ambition in the hypocritical?'

5 Of Dunstan's dream that his mother was married to Christ, Turner remarks (*ibid.* 2.417): 'To the credulous, the assertion of Dunstan was sufficient evidence of this impious story. The more investigating were silenced by attempts to allegorize it.'

6 Turner's discussion of Dunstan follows directly upon his account of the rise and progress of the Benedictine order (*ibid.* 2.380-5); Fuller says (*Ch. Hist.* 2.145): 'First come forth the Benedictines, or Black Monks, so called from St. Benedict, or Benet, an Italian, first father and founder of that Order. Augustine the monk first brought them over into England; and these black-birds first nested in Canterbury, whence they have flown into all parts of the kingdom.'

7-9 Of the opposition to a married clergy, Turner says (*op. cit.* 2.418): '[Edgar] degraded majesty so far as to become himself the persecuting tool of Dunstan. . . . At a public synod, convened to propagate the Benedictine revolution, Edgar delivered a speech for the party he espoused. In consequence of which, the clergy experienced a general persecution, and the monks were everywhere diffused with honor.'

10-11 Turner (*ibid.* 2.416), giving as his authority MS. Cleop. B.13, p. 81, comments as follows: 'The Catholic hierarchy may accredit his supernatural gifts, but our sober reason cannot read but with surprise, that he claimed the power of conversing with the spiritual world. "I can relate one thing from himself," says his biographer, "that though he lived confined by a veil of flesh, yet whether awake or asleep, he was always abiding with the powers above."'

12 Of his story that he pinched Satan's nose with red-hot tongs, Turner says (*ibid.* 2.397): 'The simple people are stated to have venerated the recluse for this amazing exploit. . . . All ages and ranks united to spread his fame.'

13 Cf. *Westmoreland 2, Prose Works* 2.327: 'The people have ever been the dupes of extremes'; and Turner, *op. cit.* 2.395: 'The ambitious recluse pursues the phantom in his lonely cell, by extraordinary penances, and a superior superstition, . . . [of Dunstan] with an earnestness which every year became more separated from moral principle.'

14 *Ibid.* 2.389: 'To have excelled his contemporaries in mental pursuits, in the fine arts, though then imperfectly practised, and in mechanical labors, is evidence of an activity of intellect and an ardor for improvement which proclaim him to have been a superior personage, whose talents might have blessed the world.'

1.29

1-4 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.29: 'The violent measures carried on under the influence of Dunstan for strengthening the Benedictine Order were a leading cause of the second series of Danish invasions.—See Turner.'

1 The contest between Crown and Cowl goes back to the time of Edwin (Turner, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* 2.408): 'It is probable that the popularity of the Benedictine reformation, of which Dunstan had made himself both the champion and the martyr, was the great engine by which Edwin was oppressed.' Cf. Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 1.200: 'Yea, king Edgar was so wholly Dunstanized, that he gave over his soul, body, and estate to be ordered by him and two more, then the triumvirate who ruled England, namely, Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester.'

2 Of the events following upon Dunstan's death, Turner says (*op. cit.* 2.463-4): 'He had enjoyed his power during the first ten years of Ethelred's reign, but the civil dissensions which he appears to have begun and perpetuated unnerved the strength of the country. . . . Within three years afterwards, formidable invasions of the Danes began to occur. . . . Instead of assembling the nobles with an army sufficient to chastise the invaders, the council of Ethelred advised him to buy off the invaders!'

3 Cf. *ibid.* 2.23 for the word 'incessant.'

5-6 As also in the time of Alfred (*ibid.* 2.92-3).

6-8 Fuller (*Ch. Hist.* 1.212-14) emphasizes Danish cruelty, and Turner (*op. cit.* 2.29) describes 'the clamors of the fierce pagans,' notably Ingwar and Ubbo of the first invasions, both of whom 'were highly courageous and inordinately cruel' (*ibid.* 2.18). Of the second series of invasions the latter says (*ibid.* 2.454): 'And yet the happy change was beginning to emerge. The principle of improvement was in existence, and its vegetation, though slow, was incessant and effectual.' He gives as reasons the growth of traffic, agriculture, grazing, the manual arts, and 'the lessons, though rude, of their new Christian clergy' (*ibid.* 2.456).

9 Cf. *ibid.* 2.18: 'The collected tempest.' Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 2.488-95.

10-14 'Silently,' Sidney's adverb describing the activity of the moon, was borrowed by Wordsworth in *Misc. Son.* 2.23. In *The Excursion* (9.384 ff.) 'the powers of civil polity' bestowed 'On Albion's noble Race in freedom born' are said to be responsible for

an effect similar to that of the Gospel-truth in 1.29.5, 'Change wide, and deep, and silently performed.' 'Silent as the moon' is Miltonic (*Samson Agonistes* 87). Longfellow notes this when, in his notes on *The Divine Comedy*, he relates *Inferno* 1.60, 'where the sun is silent,' to other uses of this epithet, for instance, those of Cato (*De Re Rustica* 29 and 40) and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 16.39.74).

1.30

1-14 Cf. *A Fact, and an Imagination* 1-23, and the note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.26. The episode of the rhyme accordant to the chant of the monks in Ely is recounted by Dyer in his *History of Cambridge*. Turner was the chief resort of Wordsworth, however. Dyer refers to Turner in *Hist. Camb.* 1.135, 155, and it is more probable for this and other reasons (see p. 39) that Dyer has been the intermediary.

1-5 Dyer, *op. cit.* 1.154:

Merry sung the monks in Ely,
When King Canute sailed by;
Row, knights, near the land,
And hear what these monks sang.

This is the fragment of a song, written as the king was on the river, and heard the monks of Ely chanting their devotions.' Cf. Turner, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* 3.317, from *Hist. Elien.*:

Merry sang the monks in Ely,
When Canute the king was sailing by;
"Row, ye knights, near the land,
"And let us hear these monks' song."

6-8 Turner (*op. cit.* 2.509-10) quotes from the *Encomium Emmae*, p. 173, regarding Canute's journey to St. Omer's, at Rome: 'Entering the monasteries, where he was received with great honor, he walked humbly, he fixed his eyes on the ground with wonderful reverence; and pouring out (if I may say so) rivers of tears, he implored the aid of the saints; . . . in the proud master of so many conquered kingdoms, the emotions must have been those of his mind and heart.' *Ibid.* 2.501-2: 'The submission of England gave him leisure to turn the eye of ambition to the mountains of Norway.'

11 Wordsworth, note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.30: 'Which is still extant.' Cf. Turner, *op. cit.* 3.322-3: 'The song of Canute on Ely was the composition of the eleventh century. . . . [It] is . . . the oldest specimen of the dramatic or genuine ballad which we have in the Anglo-Saxon language.'

12-14 *Ibid.* 2.497: 'He was formed by nature to tower amidst his contemporaries; but his country and his education intermixed his greatness with a ferocity that compels us to shudder while we admire. In one respect he was fortunate; his mind and manners

refined as his age matured. The first part of his reign was cruel and despotic. His latter days shone with a glory more unclouded.' Cf. the preceding sonnet. 'Sternest,' 'rudest,' 'Piety,' may be reminiscent of Turner's phrases: 'stern look' (*ibid.* 2.508), 'the ruder Danes' (*ibid.* 2.525), and 'the Pious' (*ibid.* 2.496). For 'clime,' cf. Fuller (*Ch. Hist.* 1.215): 'Coming to Rome, Canutus turned convert, changing his condition with the climate.'

1.31

I Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.126: 'He [Edward] was a prince most highly renowned for his piety, and fit for no other than the calm time he had. For having been so long brought up with the nuns at Jumieges in Normandy, he scarce knew to be a man, when he came into England.'

3-10 Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.171, recounting the means used by William to establish his conquest: 'Thirdly, preventing their night-meetings with a heavy penalty, that every man at the day closing should cover his fire, and depart to his rest.' Bowles (*The Grave of the Last Saxon; or, The Legend of the Curfew*, London, 1822) treats the same theme with similar imagery. Cf. his lines (p. 15):

As she pray'd, one pale small star,
A still and lonely star, through the black night
Look'd out, like Hope!—

12-14 Daniel, *op. cit.* 4.133: 'I come to write of a time wherein the State of England received an alteration of laws, customs, fashion, manner of living, language, writing, with new forms of fights, fortifications, buildings, and generally an innovation in most things but religion.' Refer to the 1822-1837 reading of line 14 (p. 190): 'Brought to religion no injurious change.' Cf. Daniel, *Civil War* 1, stanza 9.

1.32

1-14 This sonnet and the preceding one show an unwillingness in Wordsworth to accept the estimate of historians upon the Norman Conquest. The bias is uncorrected by any subsequent or compensatory praise for the benefits of Norman rule in England. Noticeable, too, is the omission of any reference to the great Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics, Lanfranc and Anselm.

3-5 Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 4.157: 'He utterly wasted and laid desolate all that goodly country between York and Durham.' Chetwind (*Anthologia Historica*, p. 209) quotes Speed's *History* for an instance of William's cruelty: '[He] immediately entered France and fired all before him, and burnt the city of Nantes, in whose walls was enclosed an anchorite, who might but would not escape, holding it a breach of his religious vow to forsake his cell in that distress.' Wordsworth owned and had annotated

Chetwind's *Anthologia Historica*. Cf. Bowles, *The Grave of the Last Saxon*, Introduction, p. x.

5-8 'Innocent distress' refers to the victims of Norman cruelty. Can 'penitent guilt' refer to William himself? Cf. Chetwind (*op. cit.*, p. 210), who again quotes from Speed: 'William the Conqueror dying, hearing the great bell ring Prime to our Lady, lifting up his hands, said: "I commend myself to that Blessed Lady Mary, Mother of God, that she by her holy prayers may reconcile me to her most dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ," and with these words yielded up the ghost.' Stow (*Chronicle*, p. 122) gives William's words before death: 'Being laden with many and grievous sins (O Christ) I tremble, and being ready to be taken by and by unto the terrible examination of God, I am ignorant what I should do, for I have been brought up in the feats of arms, even from my childhood, I am greatly polluted with effusion of much blood, I can by no means number the evils which I have done.'

9-11 Turner, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* 3.317-18: 'In his [Ingulf's] account of the chivalric hero, Hereward, who flourished in the time of Edward the Confessor and afterwards, he says, "His brave actions were sung in England." In another passage the monk informs us that Hereward died at last in peace, and was buried in their monastery, "after great battles, and a thousand dangers, frequently dared against the king, earls, barons, and magistrates, and bravely achieved, as is yet sung in the streets."' That Turner did not know the chronicle of Ingulf to be a forgery is here unimportant. He quotes Ingulf for the life of Hereward, and retails at length the circumstances under which the Saxon became an outlaw (*ibid.* 3.140): 'It was in Flanders that Hereward heard that the Normans had conquered England; that his father was dead; that the Conqueror had given his inheritance to a Norman; and that his mother's widowhood was afflicted by many injuries and distresses [cf. 'innocent distress']. Transported with grief at the account, he hastened with his wife to England, and, collecting a body of her relations, he thundered on the oppressors of his mother, and drove them from her territory.' There follows an account of Hereward's consecration as a legitimate *miles*. 'Champion' may refer to Harold.

12-14 I have found no evidence to connect these lines with Hereward. They may have been a reminiscence of the tradition in regard to Oswald (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 154): 'Whence it came to pass that many took up the very dust of the place where his body fell.' Harold was buried in Waltham Abbey. Cf. Bowles, *op. cit.*

I.33

1-14 This sonnet is a versification of Fuller, *The Holy War*, p. 12. The passage is quoted in full, since it affords a notable instance of Wordsworth's power to select from, to arrange, and to clarify,

his material. The italics are mine: 'But to return to *Pope Urban*, who was zealous in the cause to further it, and called a *Council at Clermont* in France, where met many Princes and Prelates to whom he made a long oration. Authors differ in the mould, but they agree in the metal, that it was to this effect: First, he bemoaned the miseries of the Christians in Asia, and the vastation of those holy places. Jerusalem, which was once the joy of the whole earth, was now become the grief of all good men: the Chapel of Christ's conception, at *Nazareth*, birth, at Bethlehem, burial, on *mount Calvary*, *ascension*, on *mount Olivet*, once the *fountains of piety*, were now become the sinks of all *profaneness*. Next he encouraged the Princes in the Council to take arms against those infidels, and to break their bonds in sunder, and to cast their cords far from them, and (as it is written) to cast out the handmaid and her children. Otherwise, if they would not help to quench their neighbors' houses, they must expect the speedy burning of their own, and that these barbarous nations would quickly overrun all Europe. Now, to set an edge on their courage, he promised to all that went this voyage a full remission of their sins, and penance here, and the enjoying heaven hereafter. Lastly, thus concluded, "Gird your swords to your thighs, *O ye men of might*. *It is our parts to pray, yours to fight; ours with Moses to hold up unwearied hands to God, yours to stretch forth the sword against these children of Amalek*. Amen."

It is above belief with what *cheerfulness* this motion, meeting with an active and religious world, was generally entertained; so that the whole assembly cried out, *God willeth it* [Deus vult]: a speech which was afterwards used as a fortunate watch-word in their most dangerous designs. Then took many of them a cross of red cloth on their right shoulder, as a badge of their devotion; and to gain the favorable assistance of the Virgin Mary to make this war the more happy, her office was instituted, containing certain prayers, which at canonical hours were to be made unto her. If fame, which hath told many a lie of others, be not herein belied herself, the things concluded in this Council were the same night reported at impossible distance in the utmost parts of Christendom. What spiritual intelligencers there should be, or what echoes in the hollow arch of this world should so quickly resound news from the one side thereof to the other, belongeth not to us to dispute.'

6-8 Exodus 17.11.

14 Knight (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.30) and N. C. Smith (*Poems* 2.514) both refer this line to Fuller's *Holy War*. Wordsworth's note is as follows: 'The decision of this council was believed to be instantly known in remote parts of Europe.' The device of the echo had been used in *White Doe* 670-87, and is admirably fitted to the sestet of a sonnet. Cf. also Milton, *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity* 99-102, 174-5.

I.34

I-14 Fuller, *The Holy War*, p. 14. The italics are mine: 'Now that the Mahometans (under whom the Turks and Saracens are comprehended, differing in nation, agreeing in religion and spite against Christians) were now justly to be feared, cannot be denied. So vast was the appetite of their sword, that it had already devoured Asia, and now reserved *Grecia* for the second course. *The Bosphorus was too narrow a ditch, and the Empire of Grecia too low an hedge to fence the Pagans out of West-Christendom: yea, the Saracens had lately wasted Italy, pillaged and burned many churches near Rome itself, conquered Spain, inroded Aquitaine*, and possessed some islands in the mid-land-sea. *The case therefore standing thus, this Holy war was both lawful and necessary*: which like unto a sharp pike in the boss of a buckler, though it had a mixture of offending, yet it was chiefly of a defensive nature, to which all preventive wars are justly reduced.'

9-10 *Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff, Prose Works* 1.26: 'The incendiary of the Crusades, the hermit Peter.' Cf. also *Kilchurn* 41-3.

I.35

1 Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 5.26: 'This lion-like king.' Cf. Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 1.323-4.

2-3 Fuller (*The Holy War*, p. 119), quoting Roger Hoveden: 'At Tours he took his pilgrim's scrip and staff from the Archbishop. His staff at the same time casually brake in pieces; which some (whose dexterity lay in sinister interpreting all accidents) construed a token of ill success.'

4 Cf. 'mid-land-sea' (*ibid.*, p. 14).

5-7 Daniel, *op. cit.* 5.7: 'And during his abode [in Sicily] . . . his Mother-queen Elioner . . . came unto him, bringing with her Berenguela, daughter to the King of Navarre, who was there fianced unto him. Which done, queen Elioner departs home by the way of Rome, and the young lady with the Queen-dowager of Sicily take their journey with the King; who sets forth with an hundred and thirty ships and fifty galleys, and was by tempest driven to the Isle of Cyprus; where, being denied landing, he assails the Isle on all sides, subdues it, places his garrisons therein, and commits the custody of the same to Richard de Canvile and Robert de Turnham, taking half the goods of the inhabitants from them; in lieu thereof he confirmed the use of their own laws. And here, our histories say, he married the Lady Berenguela, and caused her to be crowned queen. . . . From hence passes this famous King to the Holy Land.' Cf. Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 121: 'And because Cyprus by antiquity was celebrated as the seat of Venus, that so it might prove to him, in the joyous month of May he solemnly took to wife his beloved Lady Beringaria.'

10 Dyer (*Hist. Camb.* 1. facing 63) gives an engraving of Richard I with a battle-axe.

10-11 Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 127, of the march to Jerusalem: 'Richard led the vanguard of English. . . . Saladine, serpent-like biting the heel, assaulted the rear, not far from Bethlehem; when the French and English wheeling about charged the Turks most furiously. . . . King Richard seeking to put his courage out of doubt, brought his judgment into question, being more prodigal of his person than besemed a general. One wound he received, but by losing his blood he found his spirits, and laid about him like a mad-man.'

12 *Ibid.*, p. 123, of Richard's massacre of Turkish captives: 'For which fact he suffered much in his repute, branded with rashness and cruelty, as the murderer of many Christians; for Saladine in revenge put as many of our captives to death.'

13 Fuller, *ibid.*, p. 112, on the abuse of the office of titular bishop: 'His Holiness hath a facile and cheap way both to gratify and engage ambitious spirits, and such chameleons as love to feed on air.' Cf. also Daniel, *op. cit.* 5.106: 'Many now began to discover that the Pope, by this embarking the princes of Christendom in this remote and consuming war, to waste them, their nobility, and kingdom, was but only to extend his own power and domination.'

1.36

1 For the excommunication of the King of England and, in the same year, the Emperor Otho, see Daniel (*Works*, ed. by Grosart, 5.44-5); see also his account (*ibid.* 5.66) of the excommunication of Louis.

2-4 Fuller (*Ch. Hist.* 1.336) gives the effects of the interdict, among them 'a terrible impression made in men's minds of the pope's power, which they had often heard of, and now saw and felt, whose long arm could reach from Rome all over England, and lock the doors of all churches there; an emblem that, in like manner, he had or might have bolted the gates of heaven against them.'

5-6 Cf. *Inscriptions* 4.18, of which Wordsworth wrote (*Letters* 1.537): 'I ought to mention that the line "And things of holy use unhallowed lie" is taken from the following of Daniel: "Straight all that holy was unhallowed lies"' [see *Musophilus*, stanza 46].

5-12 Fuller, *op. cit.* 1.335-6: 'See now on a sudden the sad face of the English church!—a face without a tongue, no singing of service, no saying of mass, no reading of prayers; as for preaching of sermons, the laziness and ignorance of those times had long before interdicted them. None need pity the living (hearing the impatient complaints of lovers, for whose marriage no license could be procured), when he looks on the dead, who were buried in ditches, like dogs, without any prayers said upon them.'

12-14 *Ibid.* 1.336: 'Seeing these people believed that a grave in consecrated ground was a good step to heaven, and were taught that prayers after their death were essential to their salvation, it must needs put strange fears into the heads and hearts both of such which deceased and their friends which survived them.'

1.37

1-8 Directly before this sonnet in MS. F comes the sonnet now printed with *Memorials Tour Cont.* 1820 as XXXIV. The 'uncouth proximities' and 'bold transfigurations' may very well be those of MS. F (p. 91). Cf. Dorothy Wordsworth's description of 'the sky's fantastic element' seen by herself, Mary Wordsworth, and Wordsworth on their journey home from the marriage, 1802 (*Journals* 1.150-1). Cf. *Convention of Cintra, Prose Works* 1.193.

9 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 1.317: 'Nor did only the purse, but the person, of King Henry do penance; who, walking some miles barefoot, suffered himself to be whipped on the naked back by the monks of Canterbury.'

10-12 Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 5.49-50: '[King John] not only grants restitution and satisfaction of whatever had been taken from the Archbishop and the monks of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Ely, Bath, and Lincoln (who were fled to the Archbishop); but also lays down his crown, scepter, mantle, sword, and ring, the ensigns of his royalty, at the feet of Pandolphus, delivering up therewithal the kingdom of England to the Pope, and submits himself to the judgment and mercy of the Church.'

12-13 *Ibid.* 5.53-4: 'A Parliament is assembled in Pauls, wherein the Archbishop of Canterbury produces a charter of King Henry the First, whereby he granted the ancient liberties of the kingdom of England . . . according to the laws of King Edward. . . . And this charter being read before the barons, they much rejoiced, and swore in the presence of the Archbishop that for these liberties they would, if need required, spend their blood.' Daniel's list of events follows (*ibid.* 5.56-63):

'King John bribes the Pope and renews his oath.
The interdiction released.
The famous battle of Bovines.
King John takes upon him the cross to secure
himself from the barons.
The lords seize on the King's castles.
The lords repair to London.
King John forsaken of his people.
The King sends to levy foreign forces.'

14 *Ibid.* 5.63: 'And, had not Hugh de Boues (to whom the countries of Suffolk and Norfolk were allotted for service to be done), setting forth from Calice with forty thousand more (men, women, and children), been by a sudden tempest drowned in the

sea, he had made an universal conquest of the kingdom far more miserable than the Norman; considering that with those he had, he wrought so much as we shall hear presently he did.'

1.38

1-14 Wordsworth, Fenwick note on *Eccl. Son.*: 'The sonnets were written long before ecclesiastical history and points of doctrine had excited the interest with which they have been recently enquired into and discussed. The former particular is mentioned as an excuse for my having fallen into error in respect to an incident which had been selected as setting forth the height to which the power of the Popedom over temporal sovereignty had attained, and the arrogance with which it was displayed. I allude to the last sonnet but one in the first series, where Pope Alexander the Third at Venice is described as setting foot on the neck of the Emperor Barbarossa. Though this is related as a fact in history, I am told it is a mere legend of no authority. Substitute for it an undeniable truth not less fitted for my purpose, namely the penance inflicted by Gregory the Seventh upon the Emperor Henry the Fourth.'

1 Cf. *Desc. Sk.* 69-70.

2-9 Foxe (*Acts and Monuments* 1.185) gives a lively account of this scene, and a picture of 'Pope Alexander treading on the neck of Frederick the Emperor': 'In this most do agree, that the Pope being at Venice, and required to be sent of the Venetians to the Emperor, they would not send him. Whereupon Fredericus the Emperor sent thither his son Otho, with men and ships well appointed, charging him not to attempt anything before his coming. The young man, more hardy than circumspect, (joining with the Venetians) was overcome, and so taken, was brought into the city. Hereby the Pope took no small occasion to work his feats.

'The father, to help the captivity and misery of his son, was compelled to submit himself to the Pope, and to entreat for peace. So the Emperor, coming to Venice (at St. Mark's church, where the bishop was, there to take his absolution), was bid to kneel down at the Pope's feet.

'The proud Pope, setting his foot upon the Emperor's neck, said the verse of the Psalm [91.13]: "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem"; that is, "Thou shalt walk upon the adder and on the basilisk, and shalt tread down the lion and the dragon." To whom the Emperor, answering again, said: "Non tibi sed Petro," that is, "Not to thee but to Peter." The Pope again: "Et mihi, et Petro," "Both to me and to Peter." The Emperor, fearing to give any occasion of further quarrelling, held his peace, and so was absolved, and peace made between them.'

5-7 Has Wordsworth mistaken Frederick Barbarossa of whom Fuller says (*Holy War*, pp. 114-15) 'Saladin shook for fear, hearing of his coming [1190]. . . . But Frederick the Emperor, being now entering into the Holy Land, was to the great grief of all Christians suddenly taken away, being drowned in the river of Saleph,' for Frederick II, whose exploits in the Holy Land Fuller retails at length (*ibid.*, pp. 159-64)? The humiliation of the former was supposed to take place in 1164; the latter, Fuller says, was excommunicated by Gregory the Ninth in 1227, and lived to return from Palestine.

10-14 Foxe (*Acts and Monuments* 1.719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725) gives pictures of papal abuse; in them are evident on the faces of the 'crowd' 'amazement,' 'sorrow,' 'abject sympathy,' and 'scorn.'

1.39

1 Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* 3.1.122:

To be imprisoned in the viewless winds.

Cf. *Letters* 2.42; and *White Doe* 1834. 'Viewless' occurs in such diverse poems as Charlotte Smith's sonnet, *Night*, 'To sullen surges and the viewless wind,' and Abel Shuffelbottom's [Southey's] second *Elegy* on Delia, 'viewless feet.' Dorothy Wordsworth had complained of Wordsworth's use of it in *An Evening Walk* and *Desc. Sketches* (*Letters* 1.50).

3-4 Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 5.45: 'A predomination beyond the bounds allowed unto piety, which was only to deal with men's souls, and not their estates.'

5 The 'Bard' may well have been Virgil: 'quis enim modus adsit amori' (*Ec.* 2.68) and 'omnia vincit Amor' (*Ec.* 10.69).

6-7 Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.853, of the imperial power of Rome: 'Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.' Foxe (*Acts and Mon.* 1.184) gives Pope Adrian's letter to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa: 'We are taught by the word of truth, that every one, the which exalteth himself, shall be brought low.'

8 Foxe, *ibid.* 1.164, quoting the bull of Hildebrand for the second excommunication of Henry: 'Therefore, O you blessed princes of the apostles, grant to this, and confirm with your authority that I have said, so that all men may understand, if you have power to bind and loose in heaven, you have also power in earth to give and take away empire, kingdoms, principalities, and whatsoever here in earth belongeth to mortal men. For if you have power to judge in such matters as appertain to God, what then should we think you have of these inferior and profane things? And if it be in your power to judge the angels, ruling over proud princes, what then shall it beseech you to do upon their servants?' Cf. *Processions* 64-7, in *Mem. Tour. Cont.* 1820.

9 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 1.337, on the excommunication of John and Otho: 'For now his Holiness had his hand in, having about this time excommunicated Otho the German Emperor; and if the imperial cedar had so lately been blasted with his thunderbolts, no wonder if the English oak felt the same fire.'

10-14 Daniel, *op. cit.* 5.48: 'But now the Pope, for the last and greatest sentence that ever yet was given against any sovereign king of this kingdom, pronounces his absolute deposition from the royal government thereof, and writes to the King of France, that as he looked to have remission of his sins, he should take the charge upon him, and expel King John out of the kingdom of England, and possess the same for him and his heirs for ever.'

2.1

1-14 For the date of this sonnet, see pp. 29-30, 54.

1-4 One of the few references in *Eccl. Son.* to ecclesiastical doctrine.

3 Milton, *P. L.* 3.221: 'The deadly forfeiture.'

7 Milton, *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity* 30: 'While the Heav'n-born childe.' 'Heaven-born' is used by Wordsworth nine times; and once each, 'heaven-blest,' 'heaven-deserted,' 'heaven-eyed,' 'heaven-guided,' 'heaven-imparted,' 'heaven-lit'; 'heaven-directed' occurs twice in his poems, and 'heaven-descended' three times.

8 Cf. *Excursion* 4.908: 'The weeds of Romish phantasy.'

9-14 Cf. *Epitaphs* 2, *Prose Works* 2.147: '[The churchyard] is a far more faithful representation of homely life as existing among a community in which circumstances have not been untoward, than any report which might be made by a rigorous observer deficient in that spirit of forbearance and those kindly prepossessions without which human life can in no condition be profitably looked at or described.'

2.2

1-14 For the date of this sonnet, see pp. 29-30, 54. How far this late attempt to do 'justice to the papal Church for the services which she did actually render to Christianity and humanity in the Middle Ages' (facsimile, p. 32) is due to definite experience, or to reading, it is hard to say. Did Wordsworth know Kenelm Henry Digby's *Mores Catholici* as he knew his *Broadstone of Honour*? He had read and annotated the *Letters* of Pope Clement XIV (*Catalogue of the Library of Walter Thomas Wallace*; Wordsworth's copy of this book is said to bear the inscription 'Bought at Ambleside, April, 1825'). Cf. 'spiritual tower,' 'gentle,' 'Justice and Peace,' 'sheltering,' 'abused,' with the following passage of Clement's *Letters*, edition of 1793, Dublin, 1.286: 'But the world will never

be without abuses; if they are not in one place, they are in another, because imperfections are the natural inheritance of humanity. "There is none but the holy City," said the great Augustine, "where all will be in order, in peace, and in charity; for there shall be the Kingdom of God." Cf. also Clement's *Circular Letter* on his advancement (*ibid.* 1.3); in it recur the words 'tenderness' and 'justice.' Southey's account of the papal system may be read in his *Book of the Church* (1.292 ff.). Cf. Milton, *P. R.* 1.219, 4.83.

2.3

1-5 Wordsworth, note on 2.3: "'Bonum est nos hic esse, quia homo vivit purius, cadit rarius, surgit velocius, incedit cautius, quiescit securius, moritur felicius, purgatur citius, praemiatur copiosius.'"—Bernard. "This sentence," says Dr. Whitaker, "is usually inscribed in some conspicuous part of the Cistercian houses." Cf. Whitaker's *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and the Honor of Clitheroe*, second edition, 1806, p. 48, where Bernard's words are used to introduce book 2, chapter 2, *Locus Benedictus de Whalley*. Whitaker's note reads: 'A sentence usually inscribed on some conspicuous part of the Cistercian houses.' The passage from Bernard is also quoted by Weever (*Funeral Monuments*, London, 1757, pp. cxxxii-cxxxiii), and follows a similar statement: 'In his time [Bernard's], by himself and his means, one hundred and six abbeys of this order were built and re-established; upon the fore front or some other places within these abbeys, this sentence is most commonly depenciled, graven, or painted; taken out of St. Bernard.' I am indebted to Monsignor John T. Slattery for help in tracing the Bernardine passage to the *Homilia de Bonis Margaritis*. This is printed by Mabillon (*Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, vol. ii, pars altera, tom. v, 1536C, in the 4th edition, Paris, 1839) as *Homilia*, In illud Matthaei, cap. XIII § 45: Simile est regnum coelorum homini negotiatori quaerenti bonas margaritas. Mabillon says: 'Tribuiter communiter Bernardo, quanquam nec illius videatur. Deest apud Horstium.' The passage differs somewhat from the version given by Weever, Whitaker, and Wordsworth: 'Nonne haec religio sancta, pura et immaculata, in qua homo vivit purius, cadit rarius, surgit velocius, incedit cautius, irroratur frequentius, quiescit securius, moritur *fiducius*, purgatur citius, praemiatur copiosius?' Again through the courtesy of Monsignor Slattery, I am able to quote from an investigation made in the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Manhattanville, New York City. '(1) The passage as quoted for the Inscription is undoubtedly genuine. It is part of the *Speculum Religiosum* which does the work of admonition in monasteries where habitual silence is observed. Among the Cistercians these inscriptions are mostly taken from St. Bernard's sayings or Scripture. . . . They are found in the hall, over the gates, in refectory, sacristy, etc. The habit comes into the Benedictine Order as early as Alcuin. . . . (2) The fact

that the Inscription slightly differs from the text of the sermon has, I believe, no critical significance as a variant. The prefatory "Bonum est nos hic esse" is itself not only a scriptural phrase but a Bernardine one also. It is the answer to the "Cur hic" which in the sermon takes the form "Nonne haec religio," addressing the question to the brethren. But as a tessera on the monastery wall it is a simple statement recalling the "Pax" of the old Founder, St. Benedict, as the promise of the religious life. Similarly must the omission of the phrase "irroratur frequentius" and the substitution of "felicius" for "fiducius" be explained. The former as the "aspersio aquae benedictae" belongs to the Abbot and the celebrant of Mass. Its propriety in the sermon would be lost in an inscription. And though a preacher may convey his meaning and stir devotion by the use of a word like "fiducius," which is bad Latin though good etymology, the word "felicius" is the one St. Bernard or a Bernardine would use in writing. (3) . . . As Mabillon gives no reference as to whence he got this sermon, . . . we are constrained to believe that he found it among the sermons of Guericius, whom he mentions in his preface to the *Additamenta* as his source. There is an edition of Guerrici's *Sermones*, but obviously this is not among them. The editors of the *Opera S. Bernardi* published before Horstius do not appear to have known the sermon; at least I find no mention in those examined, the first of which is a Venice edition of 1549 by Franciscus Comestor, of the Paris Sorbonne, which bears the legend "opera quae in hunc usque diem extare noscuntur." . . . [It may be] that Mabillon discovered the MS. in some monastery during his journeys, made as we know with the special object of collecting the authentic works of St. Bernard. . . . Only experts could have told from paleographical tokens that this sermon of the "Margarita pretiosa" was not to be attributed to St. Bernard; for such phrases as "quae mens cogitare, quis intellectus plene cognoscere, quae lingua humana te poterit sufficienter et digne extollere? o religio gloriosa et mirabilis," echo the "Dulcis memoria" to perfection.

5 Wordsworth's poetry contains other memorials of the 'Cistercian wall.' Tintern Abbey, 'Bolton's old monastic tower,' and Furness Abbey, all belonged to this order. Cf. *Journals* 1.143 and 1.150. In *Prelude* 2.55-65 and 95-107 Wordsworth bears witness that his memories of oarsmanship and horsemanship were bound up with images of monastic architecture: 'the shrine once to our Lady dedicate,' 'the abbey to St. Mary's honour built.' And in *Excursion* 3.392-420 he had made the Solitary a spokesman for monastic quiet, the 'undissolving fellowship,' the 'yearning,' 'the universal instinct of repose.'

10-11 Whitaker, *History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*, London, 1805, p. 38: 'The influence of the earlier monks on the laity of all ranks and descriptions was prodigious; in fact they nearly monopolized the arts, the learning, and the religion of

their times. Cooled by modern philosophy, accustomed to modern elegance, and diverted by a thousand other objects of attention, we still continue to be delighted and astonished with their architecture. . . . The pomp and pageantry of their worship steals insensibly upon the imagination, in defiance of enlightened reason, of Protestant principle, and of perceptions blunted by factitious enjoyments of every kind: how easy then must it have been to bribe the senses of rustics.'

12-14 Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* 3.528), in his account of the building of the Benedictine monastery of Ramsey, supplied Wordsworth with the images for these three lines: 'The ealdorman [said] that he had some hereditary land surrounded with marshes, and remote from human intercourse. It was near a forest [cf. 'sylvan'] of various sorts of trees, which had several open spots of good turf, and others of fine grass for pasture. . . . Artificers were collected. The neighborhood joined in the labor. Twelve monks came from another cloister to form the new fraternity. Their cells and a chapel were soon raised. In the next winter they provided the iron and timber and utensils that were wanted for a handsome church. In the spring, amid the fenny soil, a firm foundation was laid. The workmen labored as much from devotion as for profit. Some brought the stones; others made the cement; others applied to the wheel machinery that raised them on high. And in a reasonable time, the sacred edifice, with two towers, appeared on what had been before a desolate waste; and Abbo, celebrated for his literature, was invited from Fleury to take charge of the schools that were appended to it.'

2.4

1-14 This sonnet, originally published in the volume of 1835, was there placed after the *Stanzas Suggested in a Steamboat off St. Bees' Heads*, Wordsworth's most generous account of monasticism. The evident similarity of the sonnet and lines 136-44 of the *Stanzas* indicates that the conceptions were identical:

Who with the ploughshare clove the barren moors,
And to green meadows changed the swampy shores?}
Thinned the rank woods; and for the cheerful grange
Made room where wolf and boar were used to range?
Who taught, and showed by deeds, that gentler chains
Should bind the vassal to his lord's domains?
The thoughtful Monks, intent their God to please,
For Christ's dear sake, by human sympathies
Poured from the bosom of thy Church, St. Bees!

Cf. Turner, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* 3.108-9: 'If the mass of the Anglo-Saxon population had continued in this servile state, the progress of the nation in the improvements of society would have been very small. But a better destiny awaited them; the custom of manu-

mission began, and the diffusion of Christianity, by mildly at-tempering the feelings of the individual, and by compelling him to cultivate acts of benevolence as a religious duty, increased the prevalence of the practice.' Of the slaves Turner says (*ibid.* 3.103): 'They were bought and sold with land, and were conveyed in the grants of it promiscuously with the cattle and other property upon it.'

2.5

1-4 Fuller (*Ch. Hist.* 1.398-9) enumerates as English schoolmen Alexander Hales, Roger Bacon, Richard Middleton, John Duns Scotus, Gualter Burley, John Baconthorpe, William Ocham (?Occam), Robert Holcot, and Thomas Bradwardine; respectively: doctors *irrefragabilis*, *mirabilis*, *fundatissimus*, *subtilis*, *approbatus*, *resolutus*, *singularis*, (no title for Holcot), *profundus*. Whitaker (*Hist. Craven*, p. 38) refers to the many-sided life of the cloister, its 'talents for intrigue and government, for husbandry, internal economy, arithmetic, architecture, painting, music, calligraphy, instruction of youth, entertainment of strangers, epistolary correspondence, medicine, canon law, and theology.'

3-7 Fuller particularly mentions William of Occam, a supporter of Lewis of Bavaria against the pope; Occam exhorted his master in these words (*op. cit.* 1.402): 'Defende me gladio, et ego te defendam verbo.' Moreover, since Wordsworth would have been familiar with Thomas Bradwardine through Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale* 420-2, he would be apt to make especial note of Fuller's description of Bradwardine (*op. cit.* 1.431): 'He was confessor to King Edward III, whose miraculous victories in France some impute more to this man's devout prayers than either to the policy or prowess of the English nation.' The likelihood that it is Bradwardine's 'fervent exhortations' to which Wordsworth refers finds support in a description of the 'fair court of Edward' two sonnets farther on, 2.7. Cf. Montalembert's account of Bernard (*Monks of the West*, Edinburgh and London, 1861, 1.2); and, as Professor Cooper suggests, Bacon's reference to Aristotle and Alexander in Book I of the *Advancement of Learning* (ed. by Cook, p. 11). Cf. also *White Doe* 290-307, and 97-9.

10-11 Professor Cooper suggests that 'yoke of thought' may refer to Aquinas, 'the dumb Ox.' Likewise 'subtle' recalls Duns Scotus, 'doctor subtilis.' Cf. Bacon, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-2.

11 Cf. the famous figure in Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, 'Vestes erant tenuissimis filis subtili artificio . . . perfectae.'

12-14 The transition from 'the intellectual sphere' to 'the starry throng' was a familiar one in Wordsworth's sources. Dyer (*Hist. Camb.* 1.147) wrote of the schoolmen: 'They dwelt on principles, matter, form, and essences; distinctions often too nice to be seen, or too mysterious to be understood. They had, however, a Latin translation of Euclid, and professed to teach astron-

omy.' Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* 3.429), referring to the subjects of the scholastic education at York in the eighth century, quotes Gale, *Hist. Brit. Scriptores XV*, p. 728: 'The harmony of the sky, the labor of the sun and moon, the five zones, the seven wandering planets. The laws, risings, and settings of the stars, and the aerial motions of the sea; earthquakes; the natures of man, cattle, birds, and wild beasts; their various species and figures; the sacred Scriptures.'

Wordsworth's other estimate of Schoolmen, *Misc. Son.* 2.32, is not so benign. Since 'Dogmatic Teachers,' 'wrangling Schoolmen,' 'subtle speculations haply vain,' and 'far-fetched themes' were phrases brought to publication in 1820, the two years succeeding saw a marked change in Wordsworth's attitude toward the exercises of mediæval philosophy, a change possibly caused by sympathetic research. Cf. *Prelude* 6.294-305.

2.6

1-14 Dyer (*Hist. Camb.* 1.2-3) has a passage in which occur the main ideas of *Eccl. Son.* 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 2.11: 'True it is, these times were the periods so bustling, and military, and full of events: private feuds and public insurrections left little room for the calm studies of literature; wars and devastations, massacres, rebellions and revolutions, were the ordinary occurrences, diversified indeed, and, it may be, somewhat embellished by feats of chivalry, and tales of romance. It was the age of refined savagery. Philosophy was not to be found in the halls of princes, nor in the castles of their nobles; their ambition was in the field, and their profession was only arms. But they had moments of pause and reflection; then they founded religious houses and colleges. Thither, as to a focus, all their scattered rays of knowledge were drawn; and all we can know of their philosophy and literature we must be content to gather amidst dreams of monks, and impostures of the priesthood.'

2 Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 136, of Edward III: 'No man was more gentle, where there was submission; where opposition, no man more stern.'

4 Daniel (*Works*, ed. by Grosart, 5.288-9), recounts the 'works of piety' of Edward III, among them 'his augmenting the chapel at Windsor, and provisions there for churchmen, and 24 poor knights.'

2.7

1-14 Cf. the first note on 2.6.

1-5 'Sounds,' 'gleam,' and 'fragrance' indicate the appeal Wordsworth would make to the three senses. He possessed Stow's *Chronicle*, and might well have read the account there given (pp. 227-77) of the pomp, jousts, and feasts of Edward's reign.

6-8 Wordsworth's verses in imitation of Juvenal (*Letters* 1.94) refer to Edward as 'the flower of chivalry.' Cf. Spenser, *Prothalamion*, stanza 9.

9-12 Stow, *op. cit.*, p. 227: 'This prince was endued with passing beauty and favor, of wit provident [cf. 'wisdom'], circum-spect, and gentle of nature [cf. 'magnanimity and love']; of excellent modesty and temperance' [cf. 'meekness tempering']. The words 'magnanimity' and 'meek' occur in another description of Edward (*ibid.*, p. 269 [276]): he was 'devout in God's service, for he had the Church and Ministers thereof in great reverence.'

13-14 The reference is to the amity between Church and State.

13 John 1.29; Isaiah 11.6. The lion is the national emblem.

14 The eagle as the symbol of the regal power recalls Virgil (*Æneid* 6.779) and Dante (*Paradiso* 6.1-111). For 'dove' and 'eagle' cf. Virgil (*Ec.* 9.11-13). The 'dove' may be referred to Matthew 3.16-17.

2.8

1-5 Dyer, after a discussion of scholastic learning, *Hist. Camb.* 1.146: 'Dr. Cave in his *Historia Literaria* gives to each age a discriminating title. *This* he might have called the dreaming age. Dreams may be often delectable, and present shadows of realities; but he who would behold substance should approach it with open eyes; he who would perceive truth must investigate it, but with faculties wide awake.'

5-6 Fuller, *Holy War*, pp. 262-3: 'Of the numberless Christians which lost their lives in this service. . . . But enough of this doleful subject. If young physicians with the first fee for their practice are to purchase a new churchyard, Pope Urban the second might well have bought some ground for graves when he first persuaded this bloody project; whereby he made all Jerusalem Golgotha, a place for skulls; and all the Holy Land, Aceldama, a field of blood.'

6-8 Cf. *Prelude* 2.117 and *White Doe* 126-35.

9-14 Wordsworth, *Prose Works* 2.150:

'Farwel my Frendys, the tyd abidyth no man,
I am departed hens, and so sal ye,
But in this passage the best song I can
Is *Requiem Eternam*, now Jesu grant it me.
When I have ended all myn adversity
Grant me in Paradys to have a mansion
That shedst Thy bloud for my redemption.

This epitaph might seem to be of the age of Chaucer, for it has the very tone and manner of the *Prioress' Tale*.'

2.9

1-14 For the date of this sonnet, see pp. 29-30, 54.

2-5 Written late in life, this sonnet is notable for the double occurrence of the word 'Unity,' which can be found once again in *Eccl. Son.* (3.15.7), and only four times more throughout the poems.

6 'Works of Art' as the result of 'Unity' indicate the fundamental truth of Wordsworth's later years, a criterion toward which his career steadily progressed. Cf. *Lycoris* 37-41:

But something whispers to my heart
That as we downward tend,
Lycoris! life requires an *art*
To which our souls must bend;
A skill—to balance and supply.

9-14 Cf. *Eccl. Son.* 3.35, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, of which this sonnet is reminiscent.

2.10

1-14 The figure of which Wordsworth had made a political application in *Convention of Cintra* (*Prose Works* 1.119 and 1.274) and in *Westmoreland 2* (*ibid.* 2.326) he found by Heylin applied to the Anglican Church (*Cyp. Angl.*, p. 499): 'It hath flourished, and been a shelter to other neighboring Churches, when storms have driven upon them; but alas! now it is in a storm itself and God only knows whether, or how, it shall get out; and (which is worse than the storm from without) it is become like an oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft profaneness and irreligion is entering in.' The verbal similarity of this sonnet to the passage in *Westmoreland 2* is marked: 'I am conscious of the sad deterioration, and no one can *lament* it more deeply; but sufficient *vitality* is left in the stock of ancient virtue to furnish hope that, by a careful manuring, and skilful application of the knife to *withered branches*, fresh *shoots* might thrive in their place—were it not for the base artifices of malignants, who, pretending to invigorate the tree, pour scalding water and *corrosive compounds* [cf. 'bane'] among its roots; so that the fibres are killed in the mould by which they have been nourished.' Milton uses similar images in *Reformation* and *Defensio Prima*. Cf. also the notes on *Eccl. Son.* 1.27. For the date of this sonnet, see pp. 29-30, 54.

2.11

1-8 Cf. *Journals* 2.167 for one of several accounts of services attended during the tour on the Continent, 1820.

9-14 Fuller, *Holy War*, p. 140: 'About the year 1160, Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, rich in substance and learning (for a layman), was walking and talking with his friends, when one of them suddenly fell down dead. Which lively spectacle of man's mortality so impressed the soul of this Waldo, that instantly he resolved on a strict reformation of his life. Which to his power he performed: translating some books of the Bible; instructing such as resorted to him in godliness of life; teaching withal that purgatory, masses, dedication of temples, worshipping of saints, prayers for the dead, were inventions of the devil, and snares of avarice.'

. . . He sharply lanced the vicious ulcers of clergymen's lives, reproving their pride and luxury. Soon got he many followers, both because novelty is a forcible lodestone, and because he plentifully relieved his poor disciples: and those that use that trade shall never want custom. The Archbishop of Lyons, hearing such doctrines broached as were high treason against the triple crown, ferreted Waldo and his sectaries out of Lyons and the country thereabouts. But persecution is the bellows of their Gospel, to blow every spark into a flame. [Cf. 2.14.4, 14.] This their division proved their multiplication.'

2.12

1-5 Smith, *Poems of W. W.* 2.515: "'Ages ere Waldo," etc., rests upon historical views which have been revised since Wordsworth's day.' The 'fugitive Progenitors' of the Waldenses may have been those Christians of Lyons whom Eusebius mentions as suffering persecution while Eleutherius was Bishop of Rome in 179 (*Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Hanmer, pp. 75-82).

6-9 Fuller, *Holy War*, p. 140, of the Waldenses: 'Some fled into the Alps, living there on so steep hills, and in so deep holes, that their enemies were afraid to climb or dive after them. Here they had the constant company of the snow; and as it by the height of the hills was protected from the sunbeams, so they from the scorching of persecution, even to Luther's time.'

10 Wordsworth's letter to Dorothy, Sept. 6, 1790 (*Letters* 1.13), describes the 'large sweeping woods of chestnut' covering the steepes on the shores of Lake Como.

11-13 Cf. *Desc. Sk.* 328.

13-14 Refer to the note on lines 6-9 of this sonnet.

2.13

1-14 Cf. *Poems Dedicated to National Independence and Liberty* 1.12.1-4, 11-14; 2.9.1-4; 2.10.1-5; and *Desc. Sk.* 260-9, 449-60, 591-600, 652-64.

8-9 *Ven. Rep.* 4: 'Venice, the eldest Child of Liberty.' Walton (*Lives* 1.148 ff.) gives a spirited account of the Venetian breach with Rome during the ambassadorship of Henry Wotton.

12 'Glorious lights' is in contrast to 'greedy flame' of 2.11.3, which is thus brought into relation with 'sacred fire' and 'new Flame' of 2.14.9 and 14. By the addition of 2.12 and 2.13 (1835) did Wordsworth hope to restore what he felt to be a lapse of the figure, no less than to strengthen the claim of the Anglican Church to be lineal descendant of the 'pure Church'?

2.14

1-14 For the frequent revisions of this sonnet, see pp. 100, 109, 194.

1-2 A favorite simile with Wordsworth. Cf. *Westmoreland Girl* 86, *In Youth* 76, *Misc. Son.* 1.31.2, *Prelude* 14.382-7.

3-5, 14 Cf. the note on 2.11.9-14; and see 'ashes' in the note below. Milton uses the figure of tapers and blaze in regard to Wyclif's preaching (*Reformation*).

6-14 Fuller, *Holy War*, p. 150, of the persecution of the Waldenses: 'Dominick a Spaniard was first author hereof. Well did his mother, being with child of him, dream that she had a dog vomiting fire in her womb. This ignivomous cur (sire of the litter of mendicant friars called Dominicans) did bark at and deeply bite the poor Albigenses. . . . And who can but admire at the continuance of the doctrine of the Albigenses to this day, maugre all their enemies? Let those privy-counsellors of nature, who can tell where swallows lie all winter, and how at spring they have a resurrection from their seeming deadness [cf. lines 1-2], let those, I say, also inform us in what invisible sanctuaries this doctrine did lurk in spite of persecution, and how it revived out of its ashes at the coming of Luther.' Wordsworth, note on 2.14: 'The list of foul names bestowed upon those poor creatures is long and curious—and, as is, alas! too natural, most of the opprobrious appellations are drawn from circumstances into which they were forced by their persecutors, who even consolidated their miseries into one reproachful term, calling them Patarenians, or Paturins, from *pâti*, to suffer.

Dwellers with wolves she names them, for the pine
And green oak are their covert; as the gloom
Of night oft foils their enemy's design,
She calls them Riders on the flying broom;
Sorcerers, whose frame and aspect have become
.One and the same through practices malign.'

Cf. MS. F, p. 100. The source is Fuller's *Holy War*, p. 141: 'They had also nick-names; called, first, poor men of Lyons, not because they chose to be poor, but could not choose but be poor, being stripped out of all their goods. And why should the friars' glory be this people's shame? they mocking at poverty in others, which they count meritorious in themselves. Secondly, Patarenians, that is, Sufferers, whose backs were anvils for others to beat on. Thirdly, Turlupins, that is, Dwellers with wolves (and yet might they be God's sheep), being forced to flee into woods. Fourthly, likewise they were called Sicars, that is, Cut-purses. Fifthly, Fraterculi, that is, Shifters. Sixthly, Insabbathae, that is, Observers of no sabbath. Seventhly, Passagenes, that is, Wanderers—as also Arians, Manichaeans, Adamites (how justly will appear afterwards). Yea, scarce was there an arrow in all the quiver of malice which was not shot at them.'

9-14 Fuller (*ibid.*, p. 139) recounts the three opinions concerning the Albigenses or Waldenses: (1) That they were 'very monsters in life and doctrine'; (2) That they were 'only the true

Church of God in that age'; (3) 'That these Albigenses were a purer part of the Church; and though guilty of some errors (as there must be a dawning before the day [cf. lines 3-5]), and charged with more, yet they maintained the same doctrine in ore, which since Luther's time was refined.' *Ibid.*, p. 145: 'They continued till the days of Luther, when this morning-star willingly surrendered his place to him a brighter sun.'

12 Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 4.971: 'Proud limitarie Cherube.'

2.15

1-9 In Drayton's *Agincourt* the speech of Chicheley continues for 11 stanzas (ed. by Anderson, 3.1 ff.); Fuller's account follows (*Ch. Hist.* 1.487): 'The prelates, and abbots especially, began now to have the active soul of King Henry in suspicion. . . . Such a meddling soul must be sent out of harm's way; if that the clergy found not this king some work abroad, he would make them new work at home. . . . Hereupon the clergy cunningly gave vent to his activity by diverting it on a long war upon the French.' Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 173: 'And thereupon Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a long narration deduced the King's right. . . . This indeed struck upon the right string of the King's inclination; for as he affected nothing more than true glory, so in nothing more than in warlike actions. Hereupon nothing was now thought of but the conquest of France. First, therefore, he begins to alter in his arms the bearing of Semi-de-Luces, and quarters the three Flower-de-Luces, as the Kings of France then bare them.'

2 Drayton, *Polyolbion*, Upon the Frontispiece: 'The Norman Leopards bath'd in gules.'

10-11 Drayton describes the gathering of the fleet (*Agincourt*, ed. by Anderson, 3.4-6):

. . . these
From every small creek cover'd all the seas.

12-14 Fuller (*op. cit.* 2.197) refers to the 'ambition' of King Henry, 'a spark in himself, . . . inflamed . . . by this prelate's persuasion.'

14 Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 174: 'The wind blowing fair, King Henry weighs anchor, and with a fleet of 1200 sail . . . he puts to sea.'

Wordsworth's personal associations with this theme may be inferred from the following passage in his sister's *Journals* (1.119): 'We sowed the scarlet beans in the orchard, and read *Henry V* there. William lay on his back on the seat, and wept.'

2.16

1-4 Fuller uses the epithet 'shrewd' of the 'thrust' parried by Chicheley; Wordsworth has transferred the word to describe Chicheley's design. Cf. *Ch. Hist.* 2.197.

4-5 Drayton, *Agincourt*, ed. by Anderson, 3.4:

. . . an English archer see
Who shooting at a French twelve score away,
Quite through the body stuck him to a tree.

5-6 *Ibid.* 3.13: 'Gore . . . blood.'

5-14 Fuller, *op. cit.* 1.487, 511: 'His victories are loudly sounded forth by our state-historians: a war of more credit than profit to England in this king's reign, draining the men and money thereof. Thus victorious bays bear only barren berries, no whit good for food, and very little for physic; whilst the peaceable olive drops down that precious liquor, "making the face of man to shine therewith." . . . If we cast our eyes on the civil estate [1447], we shall find our foreign acquisitions in France, which came to us on foot, running from us on horseback. . . . Yet let not the French boast of their valor, but, under God's providence, thank our sins, and particularly our discords, for their so speedy recoveries. There were many clefts and claps in our council-board; factions betwixt the great lords present thereat; and these differences descended on their attendants and retainers, who, putting on their coats, wore the badges as well of the enmities as of the arms of their lords and masters.' *Ibid.* 1.514-18: 'Now [1455] began the broils to break out betwixt the two Houses of Lancaster and York. . . . Such who consider the blood lost therein would admire England had any left. . . . Indeed, now the sound of all bells in the steeples was drowned with the noise of drums and trumpets; and yet this good was done by the civil wars—it diverted the prelates from troubling the Lollards; so that this very storm was a shelter to those poor souls, and the heat of these intestine enmities cooled the persecution against them.'

2.17

1-14 Wordsworth, note on 1.11: 'I must, however, particularize Fuller, to whom I am indebted in the sonnet upon Wicliffe.' Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 1.493: 'Hitherto [1428] the corpse of John Wicliffe had quietly slept in his grave, about one-and-forty years after his death, till his body was reduced to bones, and his bones almost to dust. . . . But now, such the spleen of the council of Constance, as they not only cursed his memory, as dying an obstinate heretic, but ordered that his bones . . . be taken out of the ground, and thrown far from any Christian burial. In obedience hereunto . . . the servants . . . take what was left out of the grave, and burnt them to ashes, and cast them into Swift, a neighboring brook running hard by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wicliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over.' Cf. Lamb's estimate of Fuller's account (*Works*, ed. by Macdonald, 3.151):

'The concluding period of this most lively narrative I will not call a conceit: it is one of the grandest conceptions I ever met with.'

5 Cf. the Greek *ὁμῆ*, a divine or prophetic voice (*Iliad* 2.41); the 'vox' of Virgil's *Georg.* 1.476; and Wordsworth's conception of 'voice' in the *Concordance*, pp. 1064-7. To Richard Sharp (in 1808; see *Letters* 1.378) he mentioned *Two Voices are there* as the best of his sonnets. Later, he was more apt to refer 'voice' to a power above external nature, and distinguished from it.

2.18

1-14 Wordsworth might have procured the material for this sonnet from *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* by Cavendish, in Christopher Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, or from the shorter account of Wolsey's career given in Stow's *Chronicle*; or even from the MSS. at Lambeth. The reference to Wolsey is unmistakable. Cf. also *Henry VIII* 3.2.108 ff. The ideas of the sonnet are like those of Milton (*Reformation*); cf. with line 4 Milton's phrase 'the pomp of prelatism'; and cf. with line 8 his 'vanities thick sown through the volumes of Justin Martyr, Clemens, Origen, Tertullian, and others of oldest time.'

3-4 Cavendish (in *Eccl. Biog.*, ed. by Wordsworth, 1.330) relates the speed of Wolsey's journey to France by the aid of 'post-horses,' and the eagerness with which, being Bishop of Lincoln, he prepared for his installation as Bishop of York (*ibid.* 1.342). Wolsey later became priest Cardinal and *legatus de latere* (*ibid.* 1.343); his preparations to receive the cardinal's hat were ostentatious (*ibid.* 1.343-4); and to his titles, Archbishop and Cardinal, he soon aspired to add that of Chancellor (*ibid.* 1.344). His retinue, his public 'down-lying' and 'up-rising,' his processions to Westminster and to the Court, his hospitality, are set forth at length. During his entertainment of the French ambassadors at Hampton Court, he 'came in booted and spurred all suddenly among them, and bade them proface' (*ibid.* 1.411).

5-6 There were 180 persons 'in his check-roll' (*ibid.* 1.350), detailed in four paragraphs by the gentleman-usher, Cavendish. *Ibid.* 1.461: 'And when Mr. Russell was come before him, he most humbly revered him, upon his knees, whom my lord stooped unto, and took him up, and bade him welcome.'

6-10 *Ibid.* 1.542: "'But if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs.'"

10-12 *Ibid.* 1.449: 'O wavering and newfangled multitude! . . . I cannot see but always men in authority be disdained with the common sort of people; and they most of all, that do observe and minister justice.'

13-14 *Ibid.* 1.546: 'Here is the end and fall of pride and

arrogancy of men, exalted by fortune to dignities: for, I assure you, in his time he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive; having more respect to the honor of his person than he had to his spiritual profession; wherein should be showed all meekness, humility, and charity.' Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 2.25, of Wolsey: 'Pride accounts the greatest plenty, if without pomp [cf. line 4], no better than penury.'

2.19

1-14 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 2.159: 'Antipathy betwixt Friars and Parish-Priests, in Erasmus's jest-earnest Dialogue. Monks, why hating Friars.' My italics in the following passage from Fuller (*op. cit.* 2.167-8) indicate Wordsworth's indebtedness: '*The specious pretences of piety and contempt of the world*, abbots and monks, were notoriously covetous, even to the injury of others. . . . They impoverished parish-priests by decrying *their performances and magnifying their own merits*. Alas! what was the *single* devotion of a silly priest, in comparison of a corporation of *prayers* (twisted cables to draw down blessings on their patrons' heads) from a whole monastery? And, suppose (which was seldom done) the parson in the parish preaching to his people; yet sermons in a church once constituted were needless, as ministering matter of schisms and disputes, and, at the best, only profiting the present; whilst prayers benefited as well the absent as the present, dead as living. But *especially* prayers of monasteries *commanded heaven* [cf. line 11], pleased with *the holy violence* [cf. lines 1-4] of so many and mighty petitioners. By these and other artifices *they undermined all priests in the affections of their own people* [cf. line 7], and procured *from pope and prince* [cf. line 13], that many churches presentative, *with their glebes and tithes, were appropriated to their convents, leaving but a poor pittance to the parish-vicar*' [cf. 'rob']. Wordsworth has translated Fuller's ironical argument into an accusation.

2.20

1-14 Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 284) repeats the prophecy made by Adamnan of the destruction of Coldringham: 'The cells that were built for prayer or reading are now converted into places of feasting, drinking, talking, and other delights; the very virgins dedicated to God, laying aside the respect due to their profession, whensoever they are at leisure, apply themselves to weaving fine garments, wherewith to adorn themselves like brides, to the danger of their state, or to gain the friendship of strange men.' The close of this sonnet was taken 'from a MS. written about the year 1770'; so with line 3. See Wordsworth's note on 2.21.

12 Cf. Milton, *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity* 175.

2.21

1-2 Dyer, *Hist. Camb.* 2.62-3: 'The immoralities of monasteries became the subject of complaint very early in the 13th and 14th centuries; . . . and in the beginning of the 15th, Henry IV, commissioners were appointed to visit and reform all the monasteries of the Cistercian order in England; so that, with respect to the dissolution of these houses, and the confiscating of their revenues, the Reformation of the 16th century did but hatch the egg; for it was laid long before.'

1-4 The rhyme 'assuage' . . . 'rage' and the phrase 'belfries mute' are good evidence to refer these lines to Fuller (*Ch. Hist.* 2.194-5), who speaks of 'the proud motto, commonly written on the bells in their steeples, wherein each bell entitled itself to a six-fold efficacy:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Funera plango,</i> | "Men's deaths I tell
By doleful knell." |
| 2. <i>Fulmina frango,</i> | "Lightning and thunder
I break asunder." |
| 3. <i>Sabbata pango,</i> | "On Sabbath, all
To church I call." |
| 4. <i>Excito lentos,</i> | "The sleepy head
I raise from bed." |
| 5. <i>Dissipo ventos,</i> | "The winds so fierce
I do disperse." |
| 6. <i>Paco cruentos,</i> | "Men's cruel rage
I do assuage." |

Whereas, it plainly appears that these abbey-steeples, though quilted with bells almost *cap-à-pie*, were not of proof against the sword of God's lightning. Yea, generally, when the heavens in tempests did strike fire, the steeples of abbeys proved often their tinder, whose frequent burning portended their final destruction; which now, God willing, we come to relate.'

4-5 Cf. *Journals* 1.206-7 for an authentic picture of 'choir unroofed,' 'warbling wren,' and 'leafy cage.'

6 Refer to my article, *Wordsworth and the Bramble*, in *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* 19.340. For 'gadding' cf. Milton, *Lycidas* 40.

7-8 Wordsworth, note on 2.21: 'These two lines are adapted from a MS., written about the year 1770, which accidentally fell into my possession. The close of the preceding sonnet on monastic voluptuousness is taken from the same source, as is the verse, "where Venus sits," etc., and the line. "Once ye were holy, ye are holy still," in a subsequent sonnet' [3.35.13]. Cf. *Fort Fuentes* 1-8.

10 At Waltham Abbey Harold was interred. Cf. Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 2.228.

11-14 Stillingfleet, *Orig. Brit.*, pp. 9-10, quoting MS. Cott: "That in the Western parts of Britain there is a royal Island

called Gleston; . . . it was devoted to the service of God. Here the first Disciples of the Catholic Law found an ancient Church, not built as was reported by men's hands, but prepared by God himself for the benefit of men, and which by miracles was showed to be consecrated to himself and to the Blessed Virgin. To which they adjoined another Oratory made of stone, which they dedicated to Christ and to St. Peter." The question is, who are here meant by these first disciples of the Catholic Law? not Joseph of Arimathea and his companions, who are never mentioned by him, and who are never said to have found a church there built to their hands, but he speaks of some of the first Saxon Christians in those parts, who might probably find there such a low wattled church as is described in Sir H. Spellman [*Concil. Brit.* 15]; a remainder of the British Christianity in that island.' Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbion* 3.307-12. Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* 1.401) refers to the rebuilding of Glastonbury by Ine at the request of Aldhelm. Cf. the note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.2.11-12.

2.22

1-8 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 2.210: 'Ten thousand persons were by this Dissolution sent to seek their fortunes in the wide world. Some, indeed, had fathers or friends to receive them, others none at all. Some had twenty shillings given them at their ejection, and a new gown, which needed to be of strong cloth to last so long till they got another.' Cf. *Brugès I* 12-14; *Journals* 2.180.

9-10 Cf. *Triad* 84-5; *Ossian* 5-10; cf. also Milton, *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, stanza 15.

11-14 Cf. *Journals* 2.52.

2.23

1-8 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 2.214: 'Some counted their convents their prisons, being thus confined. . . . It was a fine thing when they might, but sad case when they must, live in their monasteries. . . . Many who had hopes of others' subsistence cast off the cowls and vails, and quitted their convents' [cf. *Eccl. Son.* 2.22.5].

9-14 *Ibid.* 2.210: 'Most were exposed to want. I see no such certainty for a comfortable livelihood as a lawful calling; for monkish profession was no possession, and many a young nun proved an old beggar. I pity not those who had hands and health to work; but, surely, the gray hairs of some impotent persons deserved compassion; and I am confident such, had they come to the doors of the charitable reader hereof, should have had a meal's meat and a night's lodging given unto them.' Cf. *Misc. Son.* 1.1.13: 'The weight of too much liberty.' Fuller returns to this theme (*op. cit.* 2.255): 'Alas! many of them, "dig they could not, —and to beg they were ashamed."'

2.24

1-6 Cf. *Excursion* 4.894-918; cf. also Milton, *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, stanzas 19-24.

8 Weever (*Funeral Monuments*) gives evidence of the numerous dedications to St. Michael.

8-9 Cf. *Ode 1814* 24. Cf. also the passage (*Prose Works* 2.153) on the epitaph of Sir George Vane.

9-10 Whitaker, *Hist. Craven*, p. 371: 'St. Mary, St. Margaret, and St. Helena were the *νυμφαὶ ἐννῶροι λειμωνιαδες* of Craven.'

11-12 Cf. Dryden, *A Song for St. Cecilia's Day*, 1687, stanza 7.

12-14 Anderson's *British Poets* 1.525-31 includes as Chaucerian *The Lamentacion of Marie Magdaleine*. See the note on 2.31.12 for evidence that Wordsworth had recently consulted this volume; Marie's plaint may be quoted in part (p. 528):

Into wilderness I thinke best to go . . .
There for to wepin with gret aboundance.

2.25

1-14 The numerous Cistercian abbeys with which Wordsworth was familiar would suggest a sonnet upon the Virgin, to whose service this order was devoted. Cf. *Guilt* 149-50, *Meek Virgin* 1, *Excursion* 8.486-90.

6-7 In a note at the beginning of *On the Same Occasion, When in*, and in the poem itself, Wordsworth amplifies the reference to 'eastern skies at daybreak': 'Our churches, invariably perhaps, stand east and west, but why is by few persons exactly known; nor, that the degree of deviation from due east often noticeable in the ancient ones was determined, in each particular case, by the point in the horizon at which the sun rose upon the day of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. These observances of our ancestors, and the causes of them, are the subject of the following stanzas.'

7-8 These two lines occur in MS. F (p. 82) as part of a discarded version of 1.2. Presumably they established the rhyme of this sonnet; and the lines ending in 'uncrost,' 'boast,' and 'tost' were suggested by and subsequent to them.

9 Stow, *Chronicle*, p. 575: 'The Images of our Lady of Walsingham and Ipswich were brought up to London, with all the jewels that hung about them, and divers other images both in England and Wales, whereunto any common pilgrimage was used, for avoiding of idolatry.'

2.26

1-7 Fuller, whose *Church History* was Wordsworth's main source in 2.15, 2.16, 2.17, 2.19, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23, seems to be the

authority here. He relates within some few pages (2.34-42) the debate over 'the supremacy of crafty Rome,' noting the premunire of 1531, the consecration of Cranmer as Archbishop, the divorce and remarriage of Henry, Henry's displeasure at Fisher and More, the imprisonment of Fisher for refusing the Oath of Supremacy, the Convocation of York. He quotes (*ibid.* 2.48) the words offensive to Fisher in the preamble of the statute of succession: "'The bishop of Rome and see apostolic, contrary to the great and inviolable grants of jurisdiction by God immediately to emperors, kings, and princes, in succession to their heirs, hath presumed in times past to invest who should please them to inherit in other men's kingdoms and dominions; which thing we, your most humble subjects, both spiritual and temporal, do most abhor and detest.'" And he includes Protestants among those not conforming (*ibid.* 2.105): 'After the execution of the lord Cromwell, the parliament still sitting, a motley execution happened in Smithfield; three papists hanged by the statute for denying the king's supremacy, and as many Protestants burned at the same time and place by virtue of the Six Articles, dying with more pain and no less patience.'

8 *Ibid.* 2.62: "'I forgive thee," said he [Fisher to his executioner], "with all my heart, and I trust thou shalt see me overcome this storm lustily."' *Ibid.* 2.63: 'These words he spake with . . . such a reverend gravity that he appeared to all men not only void of fear, but also glad of death' [cf. lines 10-12].

9 Wordsworth's quotation is from *Romeo and Juliet* 5.1.3: 'My bosom's lord sits lightly in his throne.' See Knight, *P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.56.

11-12 Notice the Aristotelian terms: 'tragic,' 'pity,' 'fear.'

12 Fuller, *op. cit.* 2.64: 'Pass we from Fisher to More.'

12-14 *Ibid.* 2.65: 'Yet some have taxed him that he wore a feather in his cap, and wagged it too often; meaning, he was over-free in his fancies and conceits; insomuch that on the scaffold (a place not to break jests, but to break off all jesting) he could not hold, but bestowed his scoffs on the executioner and standers-by.' *The Life of Sir Thomas More*, published by Christopher Wordsworth in his *Eccl. Biog.* (2.53-232), from a MS. in the Lambeth library, was accessible to Wordsworth. In it (2.118) are comments such as: 'Sir Thomas for his wit and learning, even when he lived, throughout all Christendom was almost miraculously accounted of'; and (2.132-3) 'As he lived, so he died; always possessing his soul in peace and tranquillity. . . . Going to the scaffold to lose his head, the ascending of the stairs not being easy, "Help me up with one of your hands," said he to one of the officers, "for as for my coming down, let me shift as I may: for by then I am sure I shall take no great harm." His head being laid on the block, the executioner asked him pardon, as the custom is. "I

forgive thee with all my heart" (quoth he). "Marry, my neck is so short, I fear me thou shalt have little honesty by thy workmanship. See therefore that thou acquit thyself well."

2.27

1-14 Contrast this sonnet with Milton's *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, stanzas 20-5, and with the 'joyful annunciation' of *Ode 1815*, especially lines 25-6:

The Arabian desert shapes a willing road
Across her burning breast.

Cf. Wordsworth's use of the figure of reverberation in *Eccl. Son.* 1.33, *White Doe* 670-87, and *To Joanna* 51-65. Refer to Cooper, *On Wordsworth's Joanna*, in *Academy* 1969.108-10. The use of Tiber, Ganges, and the Nile to represent Europe, Asia, and Africa is appropriate to the 'holy river.' The obligation to Armstrong's *Art of Preserving Health*, and to Dyer's *The Ruins of Rome*, is an important one. Cf. the passages in *Poems and Extracts*, ed. by Little-dale, pp. 54-5, 69-71, as follows:

1 Dyer:

Yon hoary monk laments the same.

3 *Ibid.*:

How musical, when all-composing Time,
Here sits upon his throne of ruins hoar
While winds and tempests sweep his various lyre,
How sweet the diapason!

4 Armstrong:

A land of genii?

5 Dyer:

Fallen, fallen, a silent heap! Behold the pride of pomp,
The throne of nations, fall'n! obscured in dust;
Even yet majestic.

6-9 Armstrong:

Now come, ye Naiads, to the fountains lead;
Now let me wander through your ælid reign. . . .
First springs the Nile; here bursts the sounding Po
In angry waves; Euphrates hence devolves
A mighty flood to water half the East;
And there in Gothic solitude reclined
The cheerless Tanais pours his hoary urn.

Dyer:

Shrouded Nile,
Eridanus, and Tiber with his twins,
And palmy Euphrates; who with dropping locks
Hang o'er their urns, and mournfully among
The plaintive-echoing ruins pour their streams.

11-14 Stow, *Chronicle*, p. 62: 'Mahomet . . . was very skilful in magic, and had learned many deceits of the Egyptians: for the which he was held in admiration of the rude ignorant Saracens,

and distracted Arabians. . . . This subtle Mahomet attributed great divinity to himself; and having the falling sickness, he denied it, saying he was only in a trance, being ravished with the vision of the Angel Gabriel, who delivered him secret instructions and new commandments from God. He taught a white dove to peck food out of his ears, which he made the people believe was the Holy Ghost that came to inspire him. By means whereof, and other his illusions which his cunning confederates used in his behalf, he strongly possessed the multitude with a most holy and reverent opinion of him. . . . [His] devilish and anti-Christian doctrine, through the negligence and civil dissension of the Christian princes, hath overspread all Asia, Africa, and the best part of Europe, and in many places of India' [cf. lines 9 and 10, and the references to Tiber, Ganges, Nile].

2.28

1-3 Cf. *Journals* 1.6, 57.

6-9 Milton, *P. L.* 3.474-5, 487-96, as Knight indicates (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.57):

Eremites and Friers
White, Black and Grey, with all thir trumperie. . . .
A violent cross wind from either Coast
Blows them transverse ten thousand Leagues awry
Into the devious Air; then might ye see
Cowles, Hoods and Habits with thir wearers tost
And flutterd into Raggs, then Reliques, Beads,
Indulgences, Dispenses, Pardons, Bulls,
The sport of Winds: all these upwhirld aloft
Fly o're the backside of the World farr off
Into a *Limbo* large and broad, since calld
The Paradise of Fools.

9-14 Daniel, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 5.98-9: 'Such is the nature of Domination, wheresoever it sits, that, finding an yieldingness to endure, it never thinks it hath power sufficient, unless it hath more than enough; for, if the Popes (the professed sovereigns of piety) upon the advantage of men's zeal, and belief, grew to make their will and their power equal (so that to question their sanctions was taught to be sin against the Holy Ghost), no marvel if secular Princes, whose consciences are untied, strive to break out into the wildness of their wills from those bounds wherein by the law of the State they are placed.'

2.29

1-11 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 2.313, after referring to the Liturgy: 'The Book of books still remains; I mean the Bible itself. . . . The First Translation of the Bible. Set forth in the reign of King Henry VIII, anno 1541, countenanced with a grave and pious preface of Archbishop Cranmer, and authorized by the King's

proclamation, dated May 6th, seconded also with "Instructions" from the King; to prepare people to receive benefit the better from "so heavenly a treasure," it was called "the Bible of the greater volume," rather *commended* than *commanded* to people.'

2 Cf. Milton, *Reformation*: 'Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it.'

4 Milton (*ibid.*) refers to 'Our Chaucer's *Ploughman*.'

12-14 Cf. Fuller's accounts of the 'Devon commotion' and the 'Norfolk rebellion' (*Ch. Hist.* 2.318-26), and especially the following: 'The people tumultuously compelled the priest . . . to say mass and officiate in Latin, as best pleased with what they least understood.' Cf. *White Doe* 711-14:

To Durham first their course they bear;
And in Saint Cuthbert's ancient seat
Sang mass,—and tore the book of prayer,—
And trod the bible beneath their feet.

Child (*The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* 3.401-8) gives the ballad, *The Rising in the North*.

2.30

1-14 For the form of this sonnet Wordsworth was unmistakably indebted to Hebrews 11:

Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.

For by it the elders obtained a good report.

Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear.

And cf. the phrases 'by faith' and 'through faith' at the beginning of the following verses of this chapter: 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. For the ideas and some of the phrases he has recalled Milton: *P. L.* 1.17-18; *Church-gov.*, 'the soul of man, which is his rational temple,' and 'the love of God, as a fire sent from heaven to be ever kept alive upon the altars of our hearts'; and passages in *Reformation*.

4-5 Wordsworth, *Convention of Cintra*, *Prose Works* 1.208: 'In following the stream of these thoughts, I have not wandered from my course: I have drawn out to open day the truth from its recesses in the minds of my countrymen.' Cf. the frequent and often symbolical use of 'root,' 'rooted,' 'roots,' in the *Concordance*, p. 801.

6 Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, are the patriarchs to whom St. Paul and Wordsworth refer.

7-8 The Ten Commandments.

9-14 Hebrews 12.2: 'Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith . . .'

12 For instance, Paul.

13-14 Cf. Hebrews 3.14, 9.12, 9.24.

2.31

1-4 Wordsworth modernized *The Prioress' Tale* in 1801 (*Journals* 1.67).

1 *Prioress* 61: 'Sweet is the holiness of youth.' This line does not occur in Chaucer.

5-14, and especially 12 Denham's verses on the death of Cowley are in Anderson's *Works of the British Poets* prefixed to the selections from Chaucer (Title-page to Chaucer, vol. 1):

Old Chaucer, like the *morning star*,
To us discovers day from far;
His light those mists and clouds dissolv'd,
Which our dark nation long involv'd;
But he descending to the shades,
Darkness again the age invades.

Cf. Spenser, *Hymn of Heavenly Love* 25.2; Milton, *P. L.* 5.705 and *Song on May Morning* 1; Revelation 2.28, 22.16. Cf. also the Essay Supplementary, 1815 (*P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 951): 'What is become of the morning-star of English Poetry?' Still earlier (*Reply to the Letter of Mathetes, Prose Works* 1.91): 'Happy moment was it for England when her Chaucer, who has been rightly called the morning-star of her literature, appeared above the horizon; when her Wicliffe, like the sun, shot orient beams through the night of Romish superstition!' In this same year (1909-10) was published Christopher Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.*, including Foxe's account of Chaucer and Gower. Cf. this work 1.308: 'I marvel to consider this, how that the bishops condemning and abolishing all manner of English books and treatises which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorize the works of Chaucer to remain still and to be occupied; who (no doubt) saw in religion as much almost as even we do now, and uttereth in his works no less, and seemeth to be a right Wiclevian, or else was never any.'

7-9 Chaucer, *The Prioress' Tale* 50-7:

Among thise children was a widwes sone,
A litel clergeon, seven year of age,
That day by day to scole was his wone,
And eek also, wher-as he saugh th'image
Of Cristes moder, hadde he in usage,
As him was taught, to knele adoun and seye
His *Ave Marie*, as he goth by the weye.

8 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 2.357: 'Such was the piety of this young prince, that, being about to take down something which was above his reach, one of his play-fellows proffered him a bossed-plated Bible to stand upon, and heighten him to take what he desired. Perceiving it a Bible, with holy indignation he refused it, and sharply reproved the offerer thereof; it being unfit he should trample that

under his feet which he was to treasure up in his head and heart.' *Ibid.* 2.358: 'When crowned king, his goodness increased with his greatness; constant in his private devotions.'

2.32

1-14 Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* 2.2.126, quoting Cardan's *De Genitura Edwardi Sexti*: 'Dignus Apollineis Lachrymis.' Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 311: 'Concerning his personage, it is said he was in body beautiful, of a sweet aspect, and specially in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry liveliness and lustre in them. Concerning his conditions, in matter of fact, there is not much to be said; but in matter of disposition and inclination very much, even to admiration. . . . For proof of his merciful disposition this one example may be sufficient: when one Joan Butcher was to be burned for blasphemy and heresy, all the council could not get him to sign the warrant, till the Archbishop Cranmer, with much importunity, persuaded him; and then he did it, but not without weeping.'

2.33

1-2 In the year 1553 (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 311).

2-3 Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* 2.1.426, 429: 'The people were generally running to Queen Mary! . . . The tide grew everywhere strong for the queen.'

4-5 *Ibid.* 2.1.19, of ante-Marian idolatry: 'It was notorious that the people everywhere doated on them [images], and gave them divine honor. Nor did the clergy, who were generally too guilty themselves of such abuses, teach them how to distinguish aright; and the acts of worship that were allowed were such, that, beside the scandal such worship had in it, and the danger of drawing people into idolatry, it was in itself inexcusable to offer up such external parts of religious adoration to gold or silver, wood or stone.' Then followed Ridley's Lenten sermon. Gardiner was offended (*ibid.* 20), 'hearing that on May-day the people of Portsmouth had removed and broken the images of Christ and the saints.' Burnet (*ibid.* 2.2.97) quotes a paper written in French by Edward VI, a collection of scriptural passages against idolatry. Cf. Milton, *Piemont* 4; *P.L.* 12.119.

6-12 Stow (*Chronicle*, pp. 616-17) gives an account of Mary's coronation: 'At the upper end of Grace-street there was another pageant made by the Florentines very high, on the top whereof there stood four pictures, and in the midst of them, and most highest, there stood an Angel all in green, with a trumpet in his hand; and when the trumpeter that stood secretly in the pageant did sound his trump, the Angel did put his trump to his mouth, as though it had been the same that had sounded, to the great marveling of many ignorant persons. . . . The cross in Cheap new washed and burnished. . . . The twenty-seven of August, the service began in Latin to be sung in Paul's Church in London!

. . . And on the one and twentieth of December, began throughout England the Church service to be done in Latin.'

13-14 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 2.360: 'Whilst mutual animosities were heightened betwixt the opposers and assertors of the Liturgy, Providence put a period for a time to that controversy in England. Such who formerly would not—soon after durst not—use the Common Prayer; mass and popery being set up by Queen Mary in the room thereof. Thus when children fall out and fight about the candle, the parents, coming in and taking it away, leave them to decide the differences in the dark.'

2.34

1 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 2.399: 'Of all the Marian martyrs, Mr. Philpot was the best-born gentleman; bishop Ridley, the profoundest scholar; Mr. Bradford, the holiest and the devoutest man; archbishop Cranmer, of the mildest and meekest temper; bishop Hooper, of the sternest and austere nature; Dr. Taylor had the merriest and pleasantest wit; Mr. Latimer had the plainest and simplest heart, etc. O the variety of these several instruments! O their joint harmony in a concert to God's glory!'

2-3 Foxe (*Acts and Mon.* 2.1606) prints 'A table describing the burning of B. Ridley and father Latimer at Oxford.'

4-8 Wordsworth, note on 2.34: "'M. Latimer suffered his keeper very quietly to pull off his hose, and his other array, which to look unto was very simple; and being stripped into his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were present, as one should lightly see: and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly (weak) old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold. . . . Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr. Ridley's feet. To whom Mr. Latimer spake in this manner, 'Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man: we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out.'"—Foxe's *Acts*, &c. Similar alterations in the outward figure and deportment of persons brought to like trial were not uncommon. See note to the above passage in Dr. Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, for an example in an humble Welsh fisherman.' Cf. *Eccl. Biog.* 3.287: 'It is recorded furthermore of the said good father Rawlines . . . that as he was going to his death and standing at the stake, he seemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For whereas before he was wont to go stooping, or rather crooked through the infirmity of age, having a sad countenance, and a very feeble complexion, and withal very soft in speech and gesture; now he went and stretched up himself not only bolt upright, but also bare withal a most comfortable countenance, not without great courage and audacity both in speech and behavior. Foxe's *Acts*, p. 1416.'

11-12 I have been unable to find the source of this quotation.

2.35

1-II Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* 2.1714: 'Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, whom when they perceived to be more steadfast than that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him. And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immovable (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face) that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing always in one place without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound: his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and oftentimes he repeated his "unworthy right hand," so long as his voice would suffer him: and using often the words of Stephen, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit," in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.'

1 Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* 2.1.605: 'All the way the priests upbraided him for changing.'

4 Foxe, *op. cit.* 2.1714: 'Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies.'

6-7 *Ibid.*: 'His feet were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare one hair could not be seen upon it.'

8 *Ibid.*: 'His shirt was made long down to his feet.'

9 *Ibid.*: 'This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when friar John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of desperation . . .'

12-14 Wordsworth, note on 2.35: 'For the belief in this fact, see the contemporary historians.' Cf. Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 321: 'Only (which was no small miracle) his heart remained whole and not once touched with the fire.' This legend and the note first appeared in the series in 1827.

2.36

1-3 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 2.402-3: 'The heraldry of heaven knows how to marshal them, in the place of dignity due unto them. . . . But, though the Protestants showed much mercy to the Papists, their persecutors, yet the God of the Protestants manifested much justice in their woful and wretched deaths. . . . However, when a remarkable death suddenly follows a notorious, wicked life, even such passengers as are posting in the speed of their private affairs are bound to make a stand, and solemnly to observe the justice of God's proceedings therein.'

4-9 *Ibid.* 2.404: '"Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people: for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful unto his land, and to his

people." Deut. xxxii.43.' Such 'showers of blood seem rather to incite than to allay' the spirit of Fuller, for he goes on to take issue with the Jesuit, Parsons, in a 'cloud . . . of polemic dust.'

9-11 *Ibid.* 2.381, 446-7, 463: 'The issueless Issue of a Disputation at Oxford. . . . The Disputations betwixt the Papists and Protestants at Westminster. . . . Whereof more noise than fruit, and wherein more passion than reason, cavils than arguments. . . . The assembly dissolved, it were hard to say which were louder—the Papists in complaining, or the Protestants in triumphing. . . . Bale rails not more on Papists, than Pits . . . on Protestant writers.'

10-12 Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 2.51-70.

14 Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 6.339: νίκη δ' ἐπαμβέβηται ἄνδρας.

2.37

1-14 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 2.407 ff: 'Come we now to set down the sad troubles of Frankfort, rending these banished exiles asunder into several factions. . . . Thus settled in their church, their next care was to write letters . . . to all the English congregations . . . to invite them, with all convenient speed, to come and join with them at Frankfort. This is the "communion of saints," who never account themselves peaceably possessed of any happiness until (if it be in their power) they have also made their fellow-sufferers partakers thereof. However, this their invitation found not any great entertainment amongst the other English church-colonies; all delaying, and some denying, to come; but especially . . . those of Zurich were resolved no whit to recede from the Liturgy used in England under the reign of King Edward VI, and, except those of Frankfort would give them assurance that, coming thither, they should have full and free use thereof, they utterly refused any communion with their congregation.'

9 'Prurient speculations,' the reading from 1822 to 1827, indicates that Wordsworth had read Walton's transcript of Wotton's epitaph (*Lives* 1.183):

"Hic jacet hujus sententiae primus author,
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS ECCLESiarum
SCABIES
NOMEN ALIAS QUAERE"

Which may be Englished thus:

"Here lies the first author of this sentence,
THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE
THE SCAB
OF THE CHURCH
INQUIRE HIS NAME ELSEWHERE"

10 Walton (*Hooker*, in *Lives* 2.75) speaks of the 'seeds of discontent' sowed by Travers in the Temple; and (George Cranmer's *Letter to Hooker*, *ibid.* 2.118) refers to those who 'must give us leave to think that they have cast the seed wherewith these tares are grown.' Dyer (*Hist. Camb.* 2.179) quotes Cowley:

And who would change these soft, yet solid joys,
For empty shews and senseless noise;
And all which rank Ambition breeds,

Which seem such beauteous flowers, and are such poisonous weeds?

11-14 Walton (*op. cit.* 1.184-5) discusses Wotton's authorship of the sentence attributed to him in his epitaph: 'Almighty God was then pleased to make him a prophet, to tell the Church militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation, where the weeds of controversy grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble piety; and where men have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient, humble Christians believed to be a sin to think; and where, as our reverend Hooker says, "former simplicity and softness of spirit is not to be found, because zeal hath drowned charity, and skill meekness."' It will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this epitaph to be a useful caution unto us of this nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.'

2.38

1-5 Walton, *Hooker*, in *Lives* 2.42-3, on the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth: 'A time in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution that had raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and these begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them or their present posterity. The apprehension of which dangers begot an earnest desire of a settlement in the Church and State. . . . But time, and peace, and plenty, begot self-ends; and those begot animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those blessings for which they lately thirsted.'

5-8 Walton, *ibid.* 2.44: 'I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the Church and State; because what is principally intended in this digression is an account of the opinions and activity of the Nonconformists.' In *The White Doe* Wordsworth had used the story of one of the 'home-bred ferments' (360-79).

8-11 Cf. *Journals* 1.102; and *Reply to the Letter of Mathetes*, *Prose Works* 1.86; and Spenser, *F. Q.* 1.7.34.8 and 7.6.18.7.

9 Walton, *op. cit.* 2.59, of Whitgift and Elizabeth: 'She ro

doubting . . . his prudence equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. . . . He gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many.'

12-14 These lines, revised in 1845, indicate a severer judgment than that of 1822. Presumably they refer to the execution of Mary Stuart, and other anti-Catholic measures.

13 Walton (*op. cit.* 2.23) speaks of 'the cloud of persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary.'

2.39

1-8 Wordsworth, note on 2.39: "'On foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good Bishop, who made Mr. Hooker sit at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends; and at the Bishop's parting with him, the Bishop gave him good counsel and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the Bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him, and at Richard's return, the Bishop said to him, 'Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God with much ease,' and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany; and he said, 'Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me, at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her I send her a Bishop's benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more to carry you on foot to the college; and so God bless you, good Richard.'" See Walton's *Life of Richard Hooker*.' Cf. Walton, *op. cit.* 2.22-3, for an account of 'the learned John Jewel.'

3 Wordsworth's use of 'staff' has often been allegorical: cf. *Guilt* 4; *Michael* 183; *P. B.* 193, 423, 541, 554; *Bord.* 1416. It is the symbol both of pilgrim and pastor. Cf. also Psalm 23.4.

9-14 Milton, *P. L.* 4.153-65:

And of pure now purer aire
Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
All sadness but despair: now gentle gales
Fanning thir odoriferous wings dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmie spoiles. As when to them who sail
Beyond the *Cape of Hope*, and now are past
Mozambic, off at Sea North-East windes blow

Sabeian Odours from the spicie shoare
Of *Arabie* the blest, with such delay
Well pleas'd they slack thir course, and many a League
Cheard with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.

Cf. Bede's 'flagrantia mirandi . . . odoris' (*Eccl. Hist.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.224); and his like reference to the tomb of Earcongota (*ibid.* 1.144).

2.40

1-5 Such men as Parker, Whitgift, Jewel, and Hooker are indicated. 'Eloquent' may well refer to Whitgift's influence over Elizabeth (Walton, *Hooker*, in *Lives* 2.54-8): 'I beseech your Majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that yours and the Church's safety are dearer to me than my life.'

4 For the change from 'new-born Church' to 'Church reformed' see p. 57.

4, 11 Walton, *op. cit.* 2.10, Sam. Woodford's verses to Mr. Isaak Walton upon his writing and publishing the life of the venerable and judicious Mr. Richard Hooker:

Who mad'st the Church thy chiefest care. . . .
And decent worship kept the mean
Its two wide stretched extremes between.

Cf. also *ibid.* 2.59; and Strype, *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, Oxford, 1821, 2.487.

6-10 Walton (*op. cit.* 2.77-8) speaks of the request of Hooker to be removed from the country for better progress with his *Ecclesiastical Polity*: 'I have consulted the holy Scripture, and other laws, both human and divine . . . [to lay] a hopeful foundation for the Church's peace.'

6-8 *Ibid.* 2.61, of the scene between James I and the dying Whitgift: 'The King assured him, "he had a great affection for him, and a high value for his prudence and virtues, which were so useful for the Church that he would earnestly beg his life of God." To which he replied, "Pro ecclesia Dei! Pro ecclesia Dei!" which were the last words he ever spake.'

10 The earlier reading of this line, 'polity and discipline,' recalled Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* and that management of the Church which is frequently called 'discipline' in Cranmer's *Letter to Hooker*; the substitution of 'doctrine' for 'polity and discipline,' and the addition of 'communion' have been discussed in relation to the changes in the text of 1827 (p. 46). Cf. Milton's discussion of 'discipline' and 'doctrine' in *Church-gov.*

11 Moderation was characteristic of both Hooker and Whitgift (Walton, *op. cit.* 2.100, 51-2). Cf. the 'μηδὲν ἄγαν' of Greece and the 'media via' of Rome. Cf. also Burnet's passage on 'the very ill effects of extreme violent counsels' (*Hist. Own Time* 1.90-1).

13-14 Heylin, *Cyp. Angl.*, p. 498: 'For at this day the blind lead the blind.' Cf. Ecclesiastes 2.14, and Jeremiah 11.8.

2.41

1 Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 3.109-10, in the translation of Lang, Leaf, and Myers, p. 52: 'But wheresoever an old man entereth in, he looketh both before and after, whereby the best issue shall come for either side.'

2 Heylin, Motto of *Cyp. Angl.*, Ecclus. 44.1, 3: 'Let us now praise Famous Men and our Fathers that begat Us.'

2-8 Walton, *Hooker*, in *Lives* 2.44 ff: 'In which number of Nonconformists . . . there were many that were possessed of a high degree of spiritual wickedness; I mean with an innate, restless, radical pride and malice; . . . a complacence in working and beholding confusion; . . . men whom a furious zeal and prejudice had blinded, and made incapable of hearing reason, or adhering to the ways of peace; men whom pride and self-conceit had made to over-value their own wisdom, and become pertinacious, and to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men which they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men that labored and joyed to speak ill of government, and then to be the authors of confusion. . . . And in these times, which tended thus to confusion, there were also many others that pretended to tenderness of conscience, refusing to submit to ceremonies, or to take an oath before a lawful magistrate. . . . The common people became so fanatic, as St. Peter observes there were in his time "some that wrested the Scripture to their own destruction." So by these men, and this means, many came to believe the Bishops to be Anti-christ, and the only obstructors of God's discipline; and many of them were at last given over to such desperate delusions as to find out a text in the Revelation of St. John, that "Anti-christ was to be overcome by the sword," which they were very ready to take into their hands. . . . And at last . . . they durst threaten first the Bishops, and not long after both the Queen and Parliament' [cf. line 13]. Cf. *Westmoreland* 2, *Prose Works* 2.318.

5 Walton, Cranmer's *Letter to Hooker*, in *Lives* 2.114-15: 'Certain prophets did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that undone which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely that his holy saints, the favorers and fathers of the discipline, should be enlarged and delivered from persecution, . . . forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work: . . . "Such and such are men unworthy to govern, pluck them down: such and such are the dear children of God, let them be advanced."'

9 Heylin, *Cyp. Angl.*, p. 499: 'For the Pope never had such an harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the sects and divisions that are now among us.' Walton, *op. cit.* 2.121: 'The last which have received strength and encouragement from the reformers are Papists.'

11 Wordsworth, note on 2.41: 'A common device in religious and political conflicts.—See Strype in support of this instance.'

Strype, *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* 1.459: 'In this year [1566] came one of these dissenting preachers (in appearance, but in truth a Dominican Friar) to Maidstone. . . . Divers others resorted hither, inquiring for this man, whose name was Faithful Cummin. . . . Being thus met, . . . Cummin exercised extemporary prayer for about two hours, groaning and weeping much.' He was questioned by Archbishop Parker; then he departed 'beyond sea.'

2.42

1-4 Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 3.213: 'By transferring the fact on the then most innocent Puritans, they hoped not only to decline the odium of so hellish a design, but also, by the strangeness of the act and unsuspectedness of the actors, to amuse all men, and beget an universal mistrust, that every man would grow jealous of himself.'

7, 10 *Ibid.*: 'They fall a-working in the vault. Dark the place, in the depth of the earth; dark the time, in the dead of night; dark the design, all the actors therein concealed by oath from others, and thereby combined amongst themselves.'

12-14 St. Bartholomew's was a stock comparison (cf. Burnet, *Hist. Own Time* 1.336).

2.43

1 Wordsworth, note on 2.43: The 'Jung-Frau.'

1-14 Cf. *Journals* 2.201, 205; cf. also *Desc. Scen. Lakes, Prose Works* 2.90. Knight (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.70) prints extracts from the journal of Mrs. Wordsworth. Wordsworth had seen the falls near Schaffhausen during his first Continental tour (*Letters* 1.15). When *Eccl. Son.* 2.43 was printed with *Mem. Tour Cont.* 1820, the following note accompanied it on p. 14: 'This sonnet belongs to another publication, but from its fitness for this place is inserted here also. "Voilà un enfer d'eau," cried out a German friend of Ramond, falling on his knees on the scaffold in front of this waterfall. See Ramond's translation of Coxe.'

2.44

1-14 Dyer, *Hist. Camb.* 1.114-15: 'History possesses its quiet description of facts, its distinct periods, its regular round of story. These we look for, of course; we like information, and are pleased to hear of things as they are. But what gives interest to history is that which sometimes disturbs our repose; the bold projecting points, which fix the attention, and command our admiration; its divisions, dissensions, revolutions, and wars: as in the natural world we may expect what is orderly; are pleased with the gliding stream, with the spacious meadow, with gardens that are decorated with flowers, and fields standing thick with corn. But then there's the burst of elements!—we gaze with wonder at the storm; and

are carried out of ourselves by the earthquake and volcano, which bears away all around it.' Cf. Milton, *Eikonoclastes* 4: 'Finally, instead of praying for his people as a good king should do, he [Charles I] prays to be delivered from them, as "from wild beasts, inundations, and raging seas, that had overborne all loyalty, modesty, laws, justice, and religion."' Cf. also Dryden, *Astræa Redux* 22: 'Madness the pulpit, faction seiz'd the throne.'

12 Cf. *Reply to Mathetes*, *Prose Works* 1.86-7.

2.45

1-14 Wordsworth, note on 2.45, added in 1827: 'In this age a word cannot be said in praise of Laud, or even in compassion for his fate, without incurring a charge of bigotry; but fearless of such imputation, I concur with Hume, "that it is sufficient for his vindication to observe that his errors were the most excusable of all those which prevailed during that zealous period." A key to the right understanding of those parts of his conduct that brought the most odium upon him in his own time may be found in the following passage of his speech before the bar of the House of Peers: "Ever since I came in place, I have labored nothing more than the external public worship of God, so much slighted in divers parts of this kingdom, might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be. For I evidently saw that the public neglect of God's service in the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of many places dedicated to that service, *had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward worship of God, which while we live in the body, needs external helps, and all little enough to keep it in any vigor.*" Fenwick note: 'Before I conclude my notice of these sonnets, let me observe that the opinion I pronounced in favor of Laud (long before the Oxford Tract Movement), and which had brought censure upon me from several quarters, is not in the least changed. Omitting here to examine into his conduct in respect to the persecuting spirit with which he has been charged, I am persuaded that most of his aims to restore ritual practices which had been abandoned were good and wise, whatever errors he might commit in the manner he sometimes attempted to enforce them. I further believe that, had not he and others who shared his opinions and felt as he did, stood up in opposition to the reformers of that period, it is questionable whether the Church would ever have recovered its lost ground and become the blessing it now is, and will, I trust, become in a still greater degree, both to those of its communion and to those who unfortunately are separated from it.'

1 Heylin, *Cyp. Angl.*, p. 423: 'But worse presages than all these, were the breaking out of divers plots and practices against him by the opposite factions; not only the Puritans but the Papists conspiring against him, and both resolved to bring him to his fatal end by some means or other.'

3 *Ibid.*, p. 496: 'So well was he studied in the art of dying (especially in the last and strictest part of his imprisonment) that by continual fastings, watchings, prayers, and such like acts of Christian humiliation, his flesh was rarefied into spirit, and the whole man so fitted for eternal glories, that he was more than half in Heaven, before Death brought his bloody (but triumphant) chariot [cf. lines 9-10], to convey him thither. He that had so long been a Confessor, could not but think it a release of miseries to be made a martyr.'

9 Cf. Judges 5.28.

10 Heylin, *op. cit.*, p. 497: 'I am going apace (as you see) towards the Red Sea.'

2.46

1 One of two references to the harp in *Eccl. Son.* This is an apostrophe, and recalls two similar verses in *The White Doe* (324, 330).

2-4 Exodus 15-20, particularly the passages where the Commandments are interpreted by Moses to the children of Israel.

3-6 Milton, *P. L.* 1.10-12:

Or if *Sion* Hill
Delight thee more, and *Siloe's* Brook that flow'd
Fast by the Oracle of God.

4 Milton (*Defensio Prima*) quotes Psalm 51.6, which Salmasius urges in behalf of Charles I; and (*Eikonoclastes* 9,23) he scornfully refers to the use of David's Psalms by the author of *Eikon Basilike*. Cf. also Dryden's mention of David's harp in *Absalom and Achitophel*.

6 Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 4.538.

9-14 These lines may be semi-ironical; Wordsworth's use of 'but,' line 12, indicates a turn from the idea of a 'stern God' despising 'King and Priest.' Two passages in Burnet's *Hist. Own Time* bear out such an interpretation (1.72, 84): 'The preachers thundered in their pulpits against all that did the work of the Lord deceitfully, and cried out against all that were for moderate proceedings, as guilty of the blood that had been shed. *Thine eye shall not pity, and thou shalt not spare*, were often inculcated. . . . I had much discourse with one who knew Cromwell well, and all that set of men; and asked him how they could excuse all the prevarications and other ill things of which they were visibly guilty in the conduct of their affairs. He told me they believed there were great occasions in which some men were called to great services, in the doing of which they were excused from the common rules of morality: such were the practices of Ehud and Jael, Samson and David: and by this they fancied they had a privilege from observing the standing rules. It is obvious how far this principle may be carried, and how all justice and mercy may be laid aside on this pretence by every bold enthusiast.'

Milton ends his *Eikonoclastes* 28 with the praise of justice. He says of Charles I (*ibid.* 3): 'He appealed to God's tribunal, and behold! God hath judged and done to him in the sight of all men according to the verdict of his own mouth: to be a warning to all kings hereafter how they use presumptuously the words and protestations of David, without the spirit and conscience of David. . . . But God and his judgments have not been mocked.' Here Wordsworth might have laid upon Milton the warning that the latter gave to Charles or the author of *Eikon Basilike* (*Eikonoclastes* 8): 'Most men are too apt . . . to interpret and expound the judgments of God, and all other events of Providence or chance, as makes most to the justifying of their own cause.'

13-14 Knight, *P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.73: 'See Psalm 36.5, 6.'

3.1

1-14 Fenwick note, Knight, *P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.73: 'When I came to this part of the series, I had the dream described in this sonnet. The figure was that of my daughter, and the whole passed exactly as here represented. The sonnet was composed on the middle road leading from Grasmere to Ambleside: it was begun as I left the last house of the vale, and finished, word for word as it now stands, before I came in view of Rydal. I wish I could say the same of the five or six hundred I have written: most of them were frequently retouched in the course of composition, and not a few, laboriously.' Cf. *White Doe* 442-5; *Highland Girl* 11-19; *Eg. Maid* 301-6. Walton recounts experiences of this sort for their premonitory value; Wordsworth would notice the dream of Donne about his wife, and that of Nicholas Wotton.

3.2

4-14 Cf. the passage in Milton's *Church-gov.* 2: '. . . or should she [the Church] by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days'; and his exhortation to the rulers and people of England in the *Defensio Secunda*. Cf. *White Doe* 1261-6:

Might this our enterprise have sped,
Change wide and deep the Land had seen,
A renovation from the dead,
A spring-tide of immortal green:
The darksome altars would have blazed
Like stars when clouds are rolled away.

3.3

1-14 Burnet, *Hist. Own Time* 1.168: 'With the restoration of the King, a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety; all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which

overran the three kingdoms to such a degree that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the color of drinking the King's health, there were great disorders and much riot everywhere; and the pretences of religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest but no less pernicious enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matter, to the profane mockers of true piety.'

1-2 Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion* 6.264: 'On Monday he went to Rochester, and the next day, being the 29th of May, and his birthday, he entered London, all the ways from Dover thither being so full of people and exclamations as if the whole kingdom had been gathered. About or above Greenwich the Lord Mayor and aldermen met him, with all those protestations of joy which can hardly be imagined. And the concourse [was] so great that the King rode in a crowd from the bridge to Temple Bar. All the companies of the city stood in order on both sides, giving loud thanks [to God] for his majesty's presence. And he no sooner came to Whitehall but the two houses of Parliament solemnly cast themselves at his feet, with all the vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the joy was so unexpressible and so universal, that His Majesty said smilingly to some about him, that he doubted it had been his own fault that he had been absent so long, for he saw nobody that did not protest he had ever wished for his return.'

3-7 Dryden, *Astræa Redux* 87, 97: 'Inur'd to suffer ere he came to reign,' and 'In such adversities to sceptres trained.' Cf. also Gray, *Hymn to Adversity*; Cowley, *Ode upon His Majesty's Restoration and Return*; Bacon, *Of Adversity*; and especially Milton, *Eikonoclastes* 27: '[Charles II was unlike David, who] by suffering without just cause, learned that meekness and that wisdom by adversity, which made him much the fitter man to reign.' Cf. *Artegal* 207-8:

Proof shalt thou furnish that misfortune, pain,
And sorrow, have confirmed thy native right to reign.

9 Burnet, *op. cit.* 1.170: 'The ruin of his reign, and of all his affairs, was occasioned chiefly by his delivering himself up at his first coming over to a mad range of pleasure.' Cf. Milton, *Eikonoclastes* 13: 'Circean cup of servitude.'

10-11 Cowley, *op. cit.*: 'Wild and deformed chaos.'

14 Dryden, Cowley; Clarendon, Burnet.

3-4

1-2 Burnet, *Hist. Own Time* 1.341-2: 'This set of men at Cambridge studied to assert and examine the principles of religion and morality on clear grounds, and in a philosophical method. In this More led the way to many that came after him. Worthington

was a man of eminent piety and great humility, and practised a most sublime way of self-denial and devotion. All these, and those who were formed under them, studied to examine further into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared against superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the Church, and the liturgy, and could well live under them; but they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation. And they continued to keep a good correspondence with those who had differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom both in philosophy and in divinity. . . . And upon this men of narrower thoughts and fiercer tempers fastened upon them the name of Latitudinarians.'

3-5 *Ibid.* 1.339-40, of the Cambridge Latitudinarians: 'Whitchcot was a man of a rare temper, very mild and obliging. . . . He was much for liberty of conscience; and being disgusted with the dry systematical way of those times, he studied to raise those who conversed with him to a nobler set of thoughts, and to consider religion as a seed of a deiform nature (to use one of his own phrases). In order to this, he set young students much on reading the ancient philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and Plotin, and on considering the Christian religion as a doctrine sent from God both to elevate and sweeten human nature; in which he was a great example, as well as a wise and kind instructor. Cudworth carried this on with a great strength of genius and a vast compass of learning. . . . Wilkins was . . . a great observer, and a promoter of experimental philosophy, which was then a new thing, and much looked after. . . . The most eminent of those who were formed under those great men were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Patrick.'

4 See Cooper, *Wordsworth's Knowledge of Plato*, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 33.497-9.

5 Cf. Milton, *Comus* 461: 'The unpolluted temple of the mind.'

6-13 Milton is indicated. Cf. the description of Francis Norton in *The White Doe* (753-61).

13-14 Milton, *P. L.* 3.45-55, as Knight indicates (*P. W.*, Everysey ed., 7.77).

3.5

1 Walton (*Hooker*, in *Lives* 2.83) repeats the words of James I about Hooker: 'Doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hooker's book the picture of a divine soul, such pictures of truth and reason, and drawn in so sacred colors, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author.' Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, ed. by Plummer, 1.66-7) quotes Luke 10.20: 'In hoc gaudete, quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in caelo.'

2-4 Lienemann (*Belesenheit*, p. 16) refers these three lines to H. Constable's *Diana: To the King of Scots*; Knight likewise (*P. W.*,

Eversley ed., 7.77). Knight gives other parallels. Walton (*Donne, op. cit.* 1.63) compares Donne when preaching to 'an angel from a cloud, but in none.' He refers (*Hooker, ibid.* 2.97) to Hooker's guardian angel, and continues (*ibid.* 2.99): '[Before his death he told Dr. Saravia that] he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which peace could not be in heaven; and oh! that it might besoon earth!' Wordsworth (*Letter to a Friend of Burns, Prose Works* 2.263-4) says of 'the venerable spirit of Isaac Walton' that it was qualified to accompany, 'as it were upon wings, the pilgrim along the sorrowful road which he trod on foot.'

4-5 Walton (*Wotton, op. cit.* 1.192-3) quotes Wotton's words to Mr. John Hales: 'Almighty God hath, by his grace, prevented me from making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience.' He comments upon Donne's 'charity' (*Donne, ibid.* 1.90).

6 The statesman, Wotton; the priests, Donne, Herbert, Hooker, and Sanderson; the citizen, Walton.

7 The adjectives 'mild and humble' are used of Hooker (*op. cit.* 2.88).

8 At the conclusion of his Lenten sermon, 1630, Donne said to a friend (*op. cit.* 1.98): 'I am therefore full of inexpressible joy, and shall die in peace.'

9-10 Cf. *Journals* 1.18, 52, 55; and *The Pilgrim's Dream*.

11-13 When Wotton departed for Venice, Donne addressed him as (*op. cit.* 1.146) '[a] taper of his [James's] torch, . . . a fair beam of the same warm and dazzling sun.' Walton called Donne (*op. cit.* 1.68) 'a shining light among his old friends.'

14 The epithet 'meek' which Wordsworth applies to Walton, Walton applies to Hooker (*op. cit.* 2.44, 74).

3.6

1-6 Dyer, *Hist. Camb.* 1.119: 'They objected to the discipline of the Church, not to its doctrines; accordingly, disapproving the terms of conformity, they were set aside from their benefices. About 2000 clergymen in different parts of England were obliged to relinquish their livings in the Church, and many were ejected from the University of Cambridge.'

2-3 *Ibid.* 1.112: 'There were men on each side of great abilities, equally excelling in the learning which distinguished those times; and the presumption is that most on each side, who chose to abide by their principles and relinquish their preferments, were men of some worth; and by very many on both sides the latter was preferred.' Burnet, *Hist. Own Time* 1.349: 'There was a great debate in council a little before St. Bartholomew's day, whether the act of uniformity should be punctually executed, or not.'

4-6 *Ibid.* 1.351: 'After St. Bartholomew's day, the dissenters, seeing both Court and Parliament was so much set against them, had much consultation together what to do. Many were for going over to Holland, and settling there with their ministers. Others proposed New England and the other plantations.'

7 Dyer, *op. cit.* 1.xxv: 'He who trifles with the opinions of others, or grows wanton over their mistakes, does it at his own peril; he who obeys his conscience and follows truth, has nothing to fear.'

13-14 The strong opposition between 'self-deceiving wit' and 'the cause of God' suggests that Wordsworth had in mind and adapted the anecdote related by Dyer (*ibid.* 1.xxiii-xxiv) when he disclaimed bigotry, and would not judge between 'Papist, Episcopalian, or Puritan; . . . Arian, Socinian, or Methodist; Unitarian, Trinitarian, or Deist.' 'Who is true to his Church . . . and who to his opinions . . . let others settle. . . . I have nothing to do with men, but with their writings. I am reminded of what one of our old masters of St. John's College said, who lived in canting times. Being, on a certain election, urged to use his influence for the *godly*, "This is a case," he replied, "which relates not to *godliness*, but *learning*. Besides, men may deceive me with their godliness; they cannot with their learning.'"

3.7

1-4 Smith, *Poems of W. W.* 2.518: 'The massacre of the Vaudois in April, 1655, excited great indignation in England, and especially moved Cromwell and Milton. The latter wrote his famous sonnet *Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints*, while Cromwell tried to stir up the Protestant powers and France to a war with Spain and Savoy. He succeeded in getting the Duke of Savoy forced to drop the persecution of the Vaudois.'

5-12 Burnet (*Hist. Own Time* 1.429-33) gives an account of the Pentland rebels: 'At Lanarick, in Cliddisdale, they had a solemn fast day, in which, after much praying, they renewed the covenant and set out their manifesto.' Under Sharp's orders Dalziel marched westward and attacked the rebels, Nov. 28, 1666: the rebels were posted on the top of a hill: 'Their ministers did all they could by preaching and praying to infuse courage into them; and they sung the seventy-fourth and the seventy-eighth Psalms. And so they turned on the king's forces. They received the first charge that was given by the troop of guards very resolutely, and put them in disorder. But that was all the action; for immediately they lost all order, and ran for their lives. It was now dark: about forty were killed on the spot, and a hundred and thirty were taken. . . . Lord Rothes . . . resolved to proceed with the utmost severity against the prisoners.' Attempts were made to mollify the judges, but without success. 'It was a moving

sight to see ten of the prisoners hanged upon one gibbet at Edinburgh; thirty-five were sent to their countries, and hanged up before their own doors.' Knight, *P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.79: 'Compare *The Excursion* 1.175-6.'

II See Burnet (*ibid.* 1.430) for the operation of 'councils senseless as intolerant.'

13-14 Cf. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, tr. by Sellar, p. 48, who says of Ethelbert: 'For he had learned from those who had instructed him and guided him to salvation, that the service of Christ ought to be voluntary, not by compulsion.' Cf. also *White Doe* 872-3.

3.8

I-14 Wordsworth, note on 1.11: 'Upon the acquittal of the Seven Bishops I have done little more than versify a lively description of that event in the MS. Memoirs of the first Lord Lonsdale.' Burnet, who was familiar with the MS., must have used it in his account, which is in several phrases identical with the sonnet (*Hist. Own Time* 3.222 ff.): 'Towards the end of April [1688] the King [James II] thought fit to renew the declaration that he had set out the former year for liberty of conscience. . . . The King was not satisfied with the publishing his declaration: but he resolved to oblige the clergy to read it in all their churches in the time of divine service. . . . They resolved not to read the declaration. [Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury], with six of the bishops that came up to London, resolved in a petition to the king to lay before him the reasons that determined them not to obey the order of council that had been sent them. . . . The six bishops were St. Asaph, Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chichester, and Bristol. . . . After a fortnight's consultation, the bishops were cited to appear before the council; . . . in the next place . . . to appear in the Court of the King's Bench, and answer to an information of misdemeanor. They excepted to this; and said that by their peerage they were not bound to do it. Upon their insisting on this, they were sent to the Tower. . . . This set all *the whole city* into the highest fermentation that was ever known in memory of man. *The Bishops were sent by water to the Tower; and all along as they passed, the banks of the river were full of people who kneeled down and asked their blessing.* . . . A week after their commitment, they were brought upon a habeas corpus to the King's Bench Bar. . . . They were required to enter into bonds for small sums, to answer to the information that day fortnight. . . . The bishops were discharged of their imprisonment; and *people of all sorts ran to visit them as confessors*, one company going in as another went out. . . . *All the streets were full of shoutings* the rest of the day, and with *bonfires* at night. . . . The trial did last *long*, above ten hours. *The crowds continued in expectation all the while.* . . . The jury was fairly returned. When they were shut up, they were

soon agreed upon their verdict, to acquit the Bishops. But it was thought to be the more solemn and the safer way to continue shut up till the morning. . . . The court sat again next day. And then the jury came in with their verdict, upon which there were *such shoutings*, so long continued, and as it were echoed into the city, that all the people were struck with it. Every man seemed *transported with joy*. *Bonfires were made all about the streets*. *And the news going over the nation, produced the like rejoicings and bonfires all England over.* The italics are mine.

3.9

1-4 Burnet, *Hist. Own Time* 3.325: 'The prince still retained his usual calmness, and the same tranquillity of spirit that I had observed in him in his happiest days.'

5-8 *Ibid.* 3.132: 'I fancied his belief of predestination made him more adventurous than was necessary. But he said as to that, he firmly believed a providence; for if he should let that go, all his religion would be much shaken; and he did not see how providence could be certain, if all things did not arise out of the absolute will of God.' After the successful trip to England the Prince took Burnet (*ibid.* 3.328) 'heartily by the hand, and asked me if I would not now believe predestination.'

9-10 The Prince's declaration ended with the resolution that he would consider (*ibid.* 3.301) 'proper and effectual remedies for redressing . . . evils, in a parliament that should be lawfully chosen, and should sit in full freedom, according to the ancient custom and Constitution of England, with which he would concur in all things that might tend to the peace and happiness of the nation.'

11 From Torbay to Exeter, to Crookhorn, to Sherburn.

13-14 *Ibid.* 3.342-4, for the account of the vacillation and flight of James: 'Thus a great king, who had a good army and a strong fleet, did choose rather to abandon all, than either to expose himself to any danger with that part of the army that was still firm to him, or to stay and see the issue of a parliament.'

3.10

1-8 Burnet (*Hist. Own Time* 2.351 ff.) gives an account of the affairs of Sidney ('a man of most extraordinary courage, a steady man, even to obstinacy, sincere, but of a rough and boisterous temper'), and of Russell ('serene and calm'). He adds (*ibid.* 2.388): 'After he [Russell] had delivered this paper, he prayed by himself; then Tillotson prayed with him. After that he prayed again by himself; and then undressed himself and laid his head on the block, without the least change of countenance; and it was cut off at two strokes.' Of Sidney, Burnet says (*ibid.* 2.410): 'And indeed he met death with an unconcernedness that became one who had set up Marcus Brutus for his pattern.'

8-12 In Cranmer's *Letter*, given by Walton (*Lives* 2.120-1), the 'two causes . . . of atheism' are as follows: 'More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning; whereby they are more inclined to contradict anything than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore men of sound learning, for the most part, but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument as by scoffing. Which humor of scoffing and turning matters most serious into merriment is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by "the seat of scorners"! . . . A second cause of atheism is sensuality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life. . . . But what conceit can be imagined more base than that man should persuade himself even against the secret instinct (no doubt) of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal, and corruptible with the body? . . . Surely the soul were not able to conceive anything of heaven, no not so much as to dispute against heaven, and against God, if there were not in it something heavenly and derived from God.'

13-14 Walton, *Hooker*, *ibid.* 2.85: 'For spiritual things are spiritually discerned.' See 1 Corinthians 2.14.

3.11

1-14 Burnet (*Hist. Own Time* 5.434) discusses at length the affair of Sacheverell, 'this being one of the most extraordinary transactions in my time.'

1-3 *Ibid.* 5.436-9: 'There had been, ever since the queen came to the crown, an open revival of the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, by one Lesley. . . . One Hoadly, a pious and judicious divine . . . asserted that it was not only lawful, but a duty incumbent on all men, to resist . . . [bad and cruel governors]; concluding all with a vindication of the revolution and the present government. Upon this, a great outcry was raised, as if he had preached rebellion. . . . Sacheverell did with great virulence reflect on him, and on me [Burnet], and on several other Bishops, carrying his venom as far back as to Archbishop Grindal, whom, for his moderation, he called a perfidious prelate and a false son of the Church.'

4-5 *Ibid.* 5.434: 'Dr. Sacheverell was a bold, insolent man, with a very small measure of religion, virtue, learning, or good sense; but he resolved to force himself into popularity and preferment by the most petulant railings at dissenters and low churchmen, in several sermons and libels wrote without either chasteness of style or liveliness of expression: all was one unpractised strain of indecent and scurrilous language.'

6 Sacheverell was impeached by the House of Commons. During the trial at Westminster hall there were great disorders.

6-8 *Ibid.* 5.445-6: 'Many of the queen's chaplains stood about him, encouraging and magnifying him; and it was given out that the queen herself favored him.'

9-10 *Ibid.* 5.444: 'The word upon which all shouted was *The Church and Sacheverell!* and such as joined not in the shout were insulted and knocked down: before my own door one with a spade cleft the skull of another, who would not shout as they did.'

11-14 *Ibid.* 5.439: 'The clergy did generally espouse Sacheverell as their champion, who had stood in the breach; and so they reckoned his cause was their own.' For 'fierce extremes' cf. Milton, *P. L.* 2.598 ff.

3.12

1-14 For the textual history of this sonnet, see p. 199. Cf. *Journals* 2.180-1, especially the following: 'All these monuments of former times combine with villages and churches, and dells (between the steeps) green or corn-clad, and with the majestic river (here spread out like a lake), to compose a most affectingly beautiful scene, whether viewed in prospect or in retrospect. Still we rolled along (ah! far too swiftly! . . .) meeting the flowing river, smooth as glass, yet so rapid that the stream of motion is always perceptible, even from a great distance.'

3-12 Cf. Bowles, *Sonnet on the River Rhine*, lines 6-14:

Lo! the woods open, and the rocks retire,
Some convent's ancient walls or glist'ning spire
'Mid the bright landscape's track unfolding slow.
Here dark, with furrow'd aspect, like despair,
Frowns the bleak cliff—there on the woodland's side
The shadowy sunshine pours its streaming tide;
Whilst Hope, enchanted with the scene so fair,
Would wish to linger many a summer's day,
Nor heeds how fast the prospect winds away.

3.13, 14, 15

For the circumstances attending the composition of these three sonnets, see pp. 50-3. Wordsworth, note on 3.13, 14, 15: 'American episcopacy, in union with the Church in England, strictly belongs to the general subject; and I here make my acknowledgments to my American friends, Bishop Doane, and Mr. Henry Reed of Philadelphia, for having suggested to me the propriety of adverting to it, and pointed out the virtues and intellectual qualities of Bishop White, which so eminently fitted him for the great work he undertook. Bishop White was consecrated at Lambeth, Feb. 4, 1787, by Archbishop Moore; and before his long life was closed, twenty-six bishops had been consecrated in America, by himself. For his character and opinions see his own numerous Works, and a *Sermon in Commemoration* of him, by George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey.'

13.10-12 Bishop Seabury, in his *Brief View* (p. 2), a sermon on Bishop White sent by Seabury himself to Wordsworth (*Memoirs* 2.389), refers to Moses and the children of Israel: 'He conducted them in their perilous sojourn through the wilderness, heading them in the hour of danger, guiding them in perplexity, and cheering them in adversity, until they arrived at the confines of the promised land.' Seabury applies the figure to the leadership of White.

13.13-14 Bishop Doane's *Sermon* has as its text Proverbs 4.18: 'The path of the just is as the shining light.'

14.1-9 Bishop Seabury (*op. cit.*, pp. 21-2) speaks of 'the excellence of our laws in discouraging the spirit of caprice and innovation without repressing a prudent zeal,' and of 'the wholesome restraints of our discipline,' which, 'far from checking the flow of piety, have served rather to guide it in the channels of peace and order.'

14.9-14 Bishop Doane's *Sermon* (p. 6) has a passage very like the sestet of Wordsworth's sonnet: 'Nor does the glorious progress ever terminate. . . . "They go on from strength to strength." They rise from grace to grace. Knowledge is added to knowledge. Virtue is builded upon virtue. . . . Triumph lends facility to triumph. Conquest gathers security from conquest.' Cf. also Seabury, *op. cit.*, p. 25: 'Happy are we, my brethren, as a Church at unity with herself.'

15.1 Bishop Doane's *Sermon* begins with a rhapsody on the word 'light.'

15.7 Cf. the 'Church at unity' of the note on 14.9-14.

15.8 Letter to Wordsworth from Henry Reed, April 7, 1840, in MS. in the collection of Mrs. St. John: 'I have in my mind the career of the late Bishop White (the grandfather of my wife)—a long old age was his in the enjoyment of unbroken health. Year after year came round, and we beheld him still zealous in his ecclesiastical functions, active for the good of mankind, with his kindred and friends around him, awaiting with placid piety his last hour; and thus was his life protracted to near the verge of 90 years, and to the last his length of days was a happiness to himself and a blessing mercifully vouchsafed to his fellow-men.' Cf. also Doane, *op. cit.*, p. 28: 'His saintly death.'

15.9 Seabury, *op. cit.* (p. 7): 'The venerable patriarch'; and (p. 26): 'The family that has been reared and educated and advantageously settled in life by the labors of a father . . . grieve at his loss'; and (p. 22): 'Our missionaries, Bishops as well as Presbyters, are found in the distant extremes of both hemispheres.'

15.11 Doane, *op. cit.*, p. 14: 'A Church was to be reformed, and Thomas Cranmer rose. A Church was to be built up, and he sent William White.'

15.12 Cf. the note on 14.1-9.

15.13-14 Seabury, *op. cit.*, p. 21: 'The silent influence of collective wisdom embodied in a primitive and catholic liturgy.' Doane (*op. cit.*) refers to the Scriptures in this connection, and continues (p. 16): 'The learning of our senior Bishop . . . he [poured out] as freely as men pour out water, and with as much simplicity.' Cf. the note on *Eccl. Son.* 1.25.13-14. Doane is also the source of the unusual phrase 'patient energy' (p. 17).

3.16

1-5 *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, 1871, p. 557: 'And now again we exhort you, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you have in remembrance into how high a Dignity, and to how weighty an Office and Charge ye are called: that is to say, to be Messengers, Watchmen, and Stewards of the Lord; to teach and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family; to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for his children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever. . . . Have always therefore printed in your remembrance, how great a treasure is committed to your charge. For they are the sheep of Christ, which he bought with his death, and for whom he shed his blood.' Cf. Jeremiah 5.6, Ezekiel 22.27, Habakkuk 1.8, Zephaniah 3.3, Matthew 7.15 and 10.16, Acts 20.29.

9-14 *Ibid.*, p. 557: 'And if it shall happen the same Church, or any Member thereof, to take any hurt or hindrance by reason of your negligence, ye know the greatness of the fault, and also the horrible punishment that will ensue.'

12 Cf. the 'gulf profound' of Milton's Serbonian bog (*P.L.* 2.592); cf. also (*Apology*) his reference to 'the non-resident and plurality-gaping prelates, the gulfs and whirlpools of benefices, but the dry pits of all sound [line 10] doctrine.'

13 Henry Reed wrote to Wordsworth, Sept. 28, 1843, a letter now in the collection of Mrs. St. John: 'In the sonnet on the ordination and consecration services is there not a possibility that the "if" in the last line but one ("if rightly taught") may be misapprehended so as to convey the notion of an expression of doubt. I do not at all so understand your meaning, but it has occurred to me that it might be so taken, especially as it is preceded in the same sentence by another "if," which is purely conditional in its meaning, and another of the same kind some lines above. Would it admit of the substitution of the word "for" ("for they were rightly taught")?' Wordsworth replied (*Letters* 3.284): 'I thank you for your criticism upon the sonnet. Let it be altered, as you suggest.' But the change was not made in the text.

3.17

1-2 Wordsworth usually refers to an individual star. But cf. *Prelude* 6.127-8.

3-4 Cf. *Misc. Son.* 1.32.1-2:

With Ships the sea was sprinkled far and nigh,
Like stars in heaven, and joyously it showed.

5-8 Cf. *Duddon* 31.1-6:

The Kirk of Ulpha to the pilgrim's eye
Is welcome as a star, that doth present
Its shining forehead through the peaceful rent
Of a black cloud diffused o'er half the sky:
Or as a fruitful palm-tree towering high
O'er the parched waste beside an Arab's tent.

9-14 Cf. *Desc. Scen. Lakes, Prose Works* 2.60-3, especially the following: 'A man must be very insensible who would not be touched with pleasure at the sight of the chapel of Buttermere, so strikingly expressing, by its diminutive size, how small must be the congregation there assembled, as it were, like one family; and proclaiming at the same time to the passenger, in connection with the surrounding mountains, the depth of the seclusion in which the people live, that has rendered necessary the building of a separate place of worship for so few.'

3.18

1-14 Wordsworth, note on 3.18: 'Among the benefits arising, as Mr. Coleridge has well observed, from a Church establishment of endowments corresponding with the wealth of the country to which it belongs, may be reckoned as eminently important, the examples of civility and refinement which the clergy stationed at intervals afford to the whole people. The established clergy in many parts of England have long been, as they continue to be, the principal bulwark against barbarism, and the link which unites the sequestered peasantry with the intellectual advancement of the age. Nor is it below the dignity of the subject to observe that their taste, as acting upon rural residences and scenery, often furnishes models which country gentlemen, who are more at liberty to follow the caprices of fashion, might profit by. The precincts of an old residence must be treated by ecclesiastics with respect, both from prudence and necessity. I remember being much pleased some years ago at Rose Castle, the rural seat of the See of Carlisle, with a style of garden and architecture which, if the place had belonged to a wealthy layman, would no doubt have been swept away. A parsonage-house generally stands not far from the church; this proximity imposes favorable restraints, and sometimes suggests an affecting union of the accommodations and elegancies of life with the outward signs of piety and mortality. With pleasure I recall to mind a happy instance of this in the residence of an old and much-valued friend in Oxfordshire. The house and church stand parallel to each other, at a small distance; a circular lawn, or rather grass-plot, spreads between them; shrubs and trees

curve from each side of the dwelling, veiling, but not hiding, the church. From the front of this dwelling no part of the burial-ground is seen; but as you wind by the side of the shrubs towards the steeple-end of the church, the eye catches a single, small, low, monumental head-stone, moss-grown, sinking into, and gently inclining towards the earth. Advance, and the churchyard, populous and gay with glittering tombstones, opens upon the view. This humble and beautiful parsonage called forth a tribute, for which see the seventh of the *Miscellaneous Sonnets*, Part III.' The sonnet to which Wordsworth refers was from 1822 to 1827 in print only here, at the end of his note on *Pastoral Character*. Cf. MS. F, p. 107; cf. also *Excursion* 5.97-106, 769.

3.19

1-14 Knight, *P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.89: 'Cf. *The Christian Year*, by Keble, *passim*.'

1-3 The phrase 'passionate exercise of lofty thoughts' recalls the Preface of 1800: 'The manner in which we associate ideas in a state of excitement.'

9-14 The frequent revision of this sonnet (see p. 201) indicates Wordsworth's uncertainty as to the part the liturgical group should play in the series.

14 Revelation 21.1: 'And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.'

3.20

1 Wordsworth wrote to Reed, Sept. 27, 1845, about the edition of 1845 (*Memoirs* 2.425): 'In a very few instances I have altered the expression for the worse, on account of the same feeling or word occurring rather too near the passage. For example, the sonnet on Baptism begins "*Blest* be the Church." But unfortunately the word occurs some three or four lines just before or after; I have therefore, though reluctantly, substituted the less impressive word, "*Dear* be the Church." Does he refer to 'fitliest'? 'Blest' occurs no nearer than 3.13 or 3.31; 'blessed,' however, occurs in 3.16.1.

1-4 Walton (*Hooker*, in *Lives* 2.21-2) speaks of 'the seeds of piety . . . so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's blessed spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits as did make him grow daily into more and more favor, both with God and man.' *Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, pp. 217-18: 'Dearly beloved, forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin; and that our Saviour Christ saith, None can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regenerate and born anew of Water and of the holy Ghost; I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of

his bounteous mercy he will grant to this Child that thing which by nature he cannot have.'

8 *Ibid.*, p. 220: 'After the Gospel is read, the Minister shall make this brief exhortation upon the words of the Gospel.' See *ibid.*, pp. 221-3, for the pledges of godfathers and godmothers.

3.21

1-14 See the *Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, pp. 221-3, for the vows of the sponsors.

12 Shakespeare, *Macbeth* 4.1.83.

3.22

1-14 Hutchinson, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 445: 'See Bishop Wordsworth's *Memoirs of William Wordsworth* 1.8; and *The Prelude* 5.256-93.' *Memoirs*: 'I remember my mother only in some few situations, one of which was her pinning a nosegay to my breast when I was going to say the Catechism in the church, as was customary before Easter.'

5 Virgil, *Ec.* 1.54-5:

Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti
Saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro.

Wordsworth's references to bees are numerous. Cf. *Vernal Ode*, especially line 90:

To the soft murmur of the vagrant Bee.

Cf. the vocabulary of this sonnet with that of *The Funeral Service*, *Eccl. Son.* 3.31 (1845). The diction of the later sonnet is more abstract ('vernal posy'—'hope'), more general ('happy hand'—'weal, care'), less personal ('Pastor'—'Church'), more formal ('sweet flowers'—'blest rite'), less emotional ('anxious heart'—'mortal weight'), less suggestive of associated experience ('murmur . . . distant bee'—'its natural echo'), and less compact ('heartfelt'—'deep in the thankful heart').

3.23

4-5, 8 *Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, p. 256: 'Do ye here, in the presence of God, and of this congregation, renew the solemn promise and vow that was made in your name at your Baptism; rectifying and confirming the same in your own persons, and acknowledging yourselves bound to believe, and to do, all those things which your Godfathers and Godmothers then undertook for you?'

5-6 *Ibid.*: 'I do.'

9-10 *Ibid.*, p. 258: 'Then all of them in order kneeling before the Bishop, he shall lay his hand upon the head of every one severally.'

10 *Ibid.*: 'Defend, O Lord, this thy child with thy heavenly grace, that he may continue thine for ever: and daily increase in thy holy Spirit more and more, until he come unto thy everlasting kingdom.'

3.24

5, 10-13 Milton, *P. L.* 7.1, 7-12:

Descend from Heav'n Urania, . . .
 Heav'nlie borne,
 Before the Hills appeerd, or Fountain flow'd,
 Thou with Eternal wisdom didst converse,
 Wisdom thy Sister, and with her didst play
 In presence of th' Almighty Father, pleas'd
 With thy Celestial Song.

3.25

5-8 *Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, p. 183: 'Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name.'

10-11 *Ibid.*, p. 173: 'Do ye not know, that they who would minister about holy things live of the sacrifice; and they who wait at the altar are partakers with the altar?'

11-13 *Ibid.*, p. 172: 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven.'

13-14 Prayer is made for the Church militant.

3.26

2-3 *Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, p. 264: 'Dearly beloved, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of this congregation . . .'

4-5 *Ibid.*, pp. 266-8: 'The Minister, receiving the woman at her father's or friend's hands, shall cause the man with his right hand to take the woman by her right hand. . . And the woman, with her right hand taking the man by his right hand. . . And the man shall give unto the woman a ring.'

5-8 *Ibid.*, p. 269: 'Send thy blessing upon these thy servants . . . that . . . [they] may surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt them made.'

10 Spenser, *Epithalamion* 216-17. Knight and Smith both refer to this source. Knight also refers to Southey's *All for Love* 4.46 (*P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.95).

3.27

1-14 Harper (*William Wordsworth* 2.51) quotes from a letter of Dorothy Wordsworth to Mrs. Clarkson, July 15, [1803]: 'To-day

we have all been at Church. Mary was *churched* and the babe christened.'

6-8 *Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, p. 305: 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his goodness to give you safe deliverance, and hath preserved you in the great danger of child-birth; you shall therefore give hearty thanks unto God.'

8-13 Notice Wordsworth's adaptation of this liturgical prayer (*ibid.*, p. 306): 'Grant, we beseech thee . . . that she, through thy help, may both faithfully live, and walk according to thy will in this life present.'

3.28

4-6 *Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, p. 277: 'When any person is sick, notice shall be given thereof to the Minister of the Parish; who, coming into the sick person's house, shall say . . . When he cometh into the sick man's presence he shall say, kneeling down . . . Then the Minister shall say, Let us Pray.'

7-9 *Ibid.*, pp. 283-4: 'Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort.'

9-14 *Ibid.*, p. 279: 'That, if it be thy good pleasure to restore him to his former health, he may lead the residue of his life in thy fear, and to thy glory: or else give him grace so to take thy visitation, that after this painful life ended he may dwell with thee in life everlasting.'

3.29

1-3 *Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, pp. 308-9, note: 'The introduction of the awful Judaic maledictions into the ancient service, and the archaic character of the homily, will probably always restrict its use to the first day of Lent. The form in which these are used is singularly out of character with the general tone of the Prayer Book; denunciation of sin ordinarily taking the form of a Litany, not of an exhortation, under the Christian dispensation.'

7-8 *Ibid.*, p. 307: 'The general sentences of God's cursing against impenitent sinners . . . and that ye should answer to every sentence, *Amen*.'

13-14 *Ibid.*, p. 308: 'For now is the axe put unto the root of the trees, so that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.'

3.30

5 *Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, p. 525: 'O most powerful and glorious Lord God, at whose command the winds blow, and lift up the waves of the sea, and who stillest the rage thereof . . .'

6-8 *Ibid.*, p. 527: 'We . . . humbly present ourselves again before thy Divine Majesty, to offer a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, for that thou heardest us when we called in our trouble, and didst not cast out our prayer, which we made before thee in our great distress: even when we gave all for lost, our ship, our goods, our lives, then didst thou mercifully look upon us, and wonderfully command a deliverance.'

8-14 *Ibid.*, p. 526: 'Thou sittest in the throne judging right, and therefore we make our address to thy Divine Majesty in this our necessity, that thou wouldest take the cause into thine own hand, and judge between us and our enemies.'

3.31

1-14 Cf. the last note on *Eccl. Son.* 3.22.

5-6 *Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, p. 295: 'I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth.'

9-11 *Ibid.*, p. 297: 'He cometh up, and is cut down, like a flower.' Cf. Psalm 103.15: 'As for man, his days are as grass: a flower of the field, so he flourisheth.'

13-14 1 Corinthians 15.55.

3.32

1 *The Book of Common Prayer*.

2-3 Wordsworth, note on 3.32: 'This is still continued in many churches in Westmoreland. It takes place in the month of July, when the floor of the stalls is strewn with fresh rushes; and hence it is called the "Rush-bearing."' Cf. *Letters* 3.205.

4-12 Whitaker, *Hist. Craven*, p. 402: 'Among the seasons of periodical festivity was the rush-bearing, or the ceremony of conveying fresh rushes to strew the floor of the parish church. This method of covering floors was universal in houses while floors were of earth; but is now confined to places of worship. The bundles of the girls were adorned with wreaths of flowers, and the evening concluded with a dance.'

13-14 Laud's concern for the outward form of worship has been mentioned (*Eccl. Son.* 2.45). Hooker's perambulations are referred to by Walton (*Lives* 2.91-2): 'He would by no means omit the customary time of procession, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and most did so: in which perambulation he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations, to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them and all his present parishioners to meekness and mutual

kindnesses and love; because "Love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities."

3.33

1-6 Whitaker, *Hist. Craven*, pp. 401-2: 'The Catholic religion was admirably calculated to lay hold on the imagination and senses of the vulgar. It was a religion of shows and festivities. Nor was its influence forgotten in Craven at the end of two centuries after the Reformation. Such as the great holidays of the Church, the feast of the patron saint, parochial perambulations and religious epochs in private families, baptisms, thanksgivings after childbirth, marriages, and even burials, were all celebrated with carousing. To these may be added the masks, mummeries, and rude dramatic performances, which evidently arose out of the mystery plays anciently exhibited in the parish church by the minister and his clerks. And when we take into account another class of feastings purely rustic, such as the sheep-shearing, hay-getting, and harvest-home, it cannot be denied that the life of a Craven peasant was sufficiently diversified and cheerful.'

6-8 Cf. *Eccl. Son.* 2.11.1-3.

9-14 In these lines the trace of earlier impressions is very clear. Cf. *Journals* 1.3-4, 5, 8, 9, 115, 116, 118. Cf. also *Nith* 4 and *Green Linnet* 13-16.

3.34

1-14 Dyer (*Hist. Camb.* 2.179), in his description of Catherine Hall, uses images which are at the basis of *Eccl. Son.* 3.34, 3.35, and 3.37, sonnets illustrating the themes of mutability and charity: 'Passing from the hall, chapel, and other parts of these buildings, we may spend a minute or two agreeably enough in the garden. No scene is more pleasing to the eye than a garden, or spreads over the mind a finer calm: this, in the present instance, may be assisted, on observing how the features of this piece of ground harmonize with the general character of the place. It is a flower-garden, a little spot, but neat and elegant; formerly, about some 50 years ago, a statue of Charity stood in the midst; and though ancient or foreign statues may not comport well with an English garden, as having no relation to the place, and expressing no important meaning, yet Charity never faileth; she is the genius of all climes and ages; and in a place that was founded by a lady, and of which a lady is the protectress saint, a statue of Charity was a natural memento, and an appropriate decoration.'

1-3 *Ibid.*: 'A contemplative mind might, perhaps, find further matter for reflection, on recollecting that on the spot where is now the garden, was formerly a chapel: thus time changes everything; and the place which at one period is the grave of human beings, becomes at another a garden fragrant with sweets, and blooming with vegetative life.' This is a concrete expression of 'high to low' and 'low to high.' Cf. MS. F, p. 108.

10-14 Cf. *White Doe* 1909-10.

10-12 Cf. *Journals* 2.169: 'That once superb but now decaying structure . . . "lorded over and possessed by nature."'

14 *Ibid.* 2.168-9: 'The silent progress of time.'

3.35

3-12 Wordsworth's note on 3.35: 'This is borrowed from an affecting passage in Mr. George Dyer's history of Cambridge.' Dyer, *op. cit.* 1.vii-viii: 'It is as natural for people to receive gratification from the history of the places where they were educated, as from revisiting them. In both cases, where there is a consciousness of having passed the years of early life in literary pursuits, and virtuous conduct, there will arise a thousand pleasing recollections, not affected much by the remembrance of departed friends (for what we call melancholy feelings are our better and more salutary ones), nor much by a sense of the intermixture of some follies like the ivy twining about the oak; for time acts by our follies as by our resentments; it teaches us to forgive and forget our own infirmities, not less than those of others: so that, generally speaking, in retracing the scenes of early life, and not less in reading their history, there will be found a preponderance of pleasure; and hence the propriety of combining together a particular with a general interest.' Cf. *Westmoreland* 2, *Prose Works* 2.319. Cf. also Spenser's *Ruins of Time*, and Wrangham's *Ruins of Rome*. I am not certain that Wordsworth knew Volney's *Les Ruines*?

13 Refer to the notes on *Eccl. Son.* 2.3, and to Wordsworth's note on *Eccl. Son.* 2.21 for this line, taken 'from a MS. written about the year 1770, which accidentally fell into my possession.'

3.36

1-14 The date of this sonnet is not known. May Wordsworth refer to the sympathy aroused in England for those persecuted at Nîmes in 1815, after the second restoration of the Bourbons? Cf. Waddington, W. H., *The Protestant Church and Religious Liberty in France*, in *Cambridge Essays*, 1856, p. 217: 'It was not till March, 1819 [? 1816] that, in the course of a debate about some modification of the electoral law, the whole truth came out. . . . In England much sympathy was aroused, and meetings were held in the principal towns in favor of the Protestants. . . . In May, 1816, Sir Samuel Romilly, himself descended from a French refugee, brought the matter before parliament, and moved that an address be presented to the Prince Regent, on the subject of the persecutions in the South of France; he was ably supported by Mr. Brougham. This debate drew general attention to the events of Nîmes all over Europe, and at last compelled the French government to interfere.' Cf. Burnet, *Hist. Own Time* 3.128-9.

3.37

1 See the note on *Eccl. Son.* 3.34.1-14.

2-4 Burnet (*Hist. Own Time* 3.307 ff.) gives in detail the changes of the wind. Finally (*ibid.* 3.325-7), 'on the first of November, O. S., we sailed out with the evening tide; . . . [after some vicissitudes] the wind turned into the south, and a soft and happy gale of wind carried in the whole fleet in four hours time into Torbay.'

5-6 Wordsworth, note on 3.37: 'See Burnet, who is unusually animated on this subject; the east wind, so anxiously expected and prayed for, was called the "Protestant wind."' Cf. Burnet, *op. cit.* 3.316.

6 Burnet (*ibid.* 3.128) says of the repeal of the Edict of Nantes: 'Under so cloudy a prospect it should be expected that a spirit of true devotion and of a real reformation should appear more, both among the clergy and laity; that they should all apprehend that God was highly offended with them, and was therefore punishing some, and threatening others, in a most unusual manner.' This temper of 'apprehension' hastened affairs in England (*ibid.* 3.316): 'The Church party did now show their approbation of the Prince's expedition in such terms that many were surprised at it, both then and since that time. They spoke openly in favor of it. They expressed their grief to see the wind so cross. They wished for an east wind, which on that occasion was called the Protestant wind.'

7 The series of injuries included the following (*ibid.* 3.16, 59 ff., 71, 108, 157, 164, 184, 222, 223): Elections of parliament unjustly managed by James, 1685; Jeffreys' cruelty on the western circuit after the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion, 1685; James' declaration against the tests, 1685; the extra-legal ecclesiastical commission, 1686; a Popish president in Magdalen College, 1687; Palmer sent as ambassador to Rome, 1687; The Declaration of Toleration, 1687; its renewal, 1688; orders that the clergy read it, 1688.

3.38

1 Such 'triumphs' as that near La Hogue, 1692, those of the War of Spanish Succession, those of Lord Nelson.

2 Such 'armies' as that which captured Namur in 1695, that of the Duke of Marlborough, or that of the Duke of Wellington.

7-9 Cf. *Desc. Sk.* 658.

9-11 Knight, *P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.103: 'In 1818, under the ministry of Lord Liverpool, £1,000,000 was voted by parliament to build new churches in England.' Cf. Postscript, 1835, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., pp. 963 ff.

12-14 Cf. *Guilt* 211, *White Doe* 2, *Ode: Thanks.* 205-6, *Excursion* 9.726-7. Cf. also the notes on reverberation, 2.27.1-14.

3.39

1-14 Refer to the Advertisement, p. 117, for the circumstances of composition.

5-6 Cf. *Journals* 1.6, 40, 106, 108, 129, for the hawthorn. Wordsworth had chosen a 'hawthorn brake' for Emily's 'sad words' to the Doe (line 877). In this sonnet he may have recalled Drayton's line (*Polyolbion* 3.314), which Selden annotated as follows: 'It goes for current truth that a hawthorn thereby on Christmas day always blossometh: which the author tells you in that, "Trees yet in winter, &." Agamemnon's spear (*Iliad* 11.256) was ἀνεμοτρεφές.

7 Cf. the notes on the latter part of *Eccl. Son.* 1.4.

9-10 *Journals* 1.7. Wordsworth had spoken of the 'function apostolical' of the daisy (*Bright flower* 23).

12-14 Cf. *White Doe* 667-9. Fenwick note: 'I have only further to observe that the intended church which prompted these sonnets was erected on Coleorton Moor towards the centre of a very populous parish between three and four miles from Ashby-de-la-Zouch, on the road to Loughborough, and has proved, I believe, a great benefit to the neighborhood.'

3.40

1-14 With this sonnet Wordsworth takes his place in the English tradition begun by the author of *The Dream of the Rood*.

1-6 *Journals* 2.167: 'The priests in their gaudy attire, with their young white-robed attendants, made a solemn appearance, while clouds of incense were ascending over their heads to the large crucifix above the altar; and the "pealing organ" sounded to the "full-voiced quire."' *Ibid.* 2.217: 'It was a moonlight night—rather a night of fitful moonshine; for large clouds were driving rapidly over the narrow arch of sky above the town. A golden cross upon one of the steeples shone forth at times as bright as a star in heaven against the black mountain-wall.' *Ibid.* 2.196: 'By degrees (the vapors settling or shifting) other castles were seen on island eminences; and the tops of bare or woody hills taking the same island form; while trees, resembling ships, appeared and disappeared, and rainbow lights (scarcely more visionary than the mimic islands) passed over, or for a moment rested on the breaking mists.'

9-10 Wordsworth, note on 3.40: 'The Lutherans have retained the Cross within their churches: it is to be regretted that we have not done the same.' Knight, *P. W.*, Eversley ed., 7.104: 'It has always been retained *without*, and is now scarcely less common *within* the churches of England. Did the poet confound the Cross with the Crucifix?'

12 Knight, *ibid.*: 'Cf. Gray's *Elegy*, stanza 5:

The breezy call of incense-breathing morn.'

3.41

1-14 Cf. *Epitaphs* 2, *Prose Works* 2.146.

4-5 Virgil, *Georg.* 2.471: 'Illic saltus ac lustra ferarum.'

6 Percy, *Reliques*, 1864, 1.66-7:

Then they cast on their gownes of grene,
And tooke theyr bowes each one;
And they away to the greene forrèst
A shooting forth are gone.

7 Refer to *The Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Blunt, pp. [62]-[63].

12 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

13 See *Epitaphs* 2, *Prose Works* 2.147, for 'the afflictions which peasants and rural citizens have to struggle with, . . . the tears which they wipe away, and the sighs which they stifle.'

3.42

1-14 Dorothy Wordsworth wrote to Samuel Rogers, Jan. 3, 1823 (*Letters* 2.200): 'My brother . . . likes best . . . in the *Sketches* the succession of those on the Reformation, and those towards the conclusion of the third part.' Wordsworth himself wrote to Richard Sharp, April 16, [1822] (*Letters* 2.176): 'The *Ecclesiastical Sketches* labor under one obvious disadvantage, that they can only present themselves as a whole to the reader who is pretty well acquainted with the history of this country; and, as separate pieces, several of them suffer as poetry from the matter of fact, there being unavoidably in all history—except as it is a mere suggestion—something that enslaves the fancy. But there are in these poems several continuous strains, not in the least degree liable to this objection. I will only mention two: the sonnets on *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*, and almost the whole of the last part, from the picture of England after the Revolution, scattered over with Protestant churches, till the conclusion. Pray read again from "Open your gates, ye everlasting Piles" to the end.' Cf. *Journals* 2.163.

5 'Intricate defile' had been used in *Duddon* 16.8. Lines 5-10 of *Eccl. Son.* 3.42 are, like many of the lines of *Duddon*, remarkable for the skilful use of phonetic elements.

10 Cf. Jacob's ladder (Genesis 28.12).

12 Cf. Dorothy's account of Lincoln (*Journals* 1.144).

13 It was 'the death-sounds of the Minster-bell' of York that Francis Norton heard when he fled 'from the doleful City.'

14 Dyer (*Hist. Camb.* 2.334-7) speaks of the character of Cam. Cf. *Misc. Son.* 3.2.10-11.

3.43

1-14 Hutchinson, *P. W.*, Oxford ed., p. 451: 'Wordsworth appears to have written one at least of these sonnets (3.43-45), and perhaps wrote all three, during a visit to his brother Christopher (Master of Trinity) at Cambridge, Nov.-Dec., 1820.' For further discussion, see p. 28. Cf. *Letters* 1.21, 374. This sonnet and the following recall lines 155-66 of Milton's *Il Penseroso*.

1 Of the canonization of Henry VI, Dyer says (*Hist. Camb.* 2.184): 'Henry VII was in treaty with Pope Julius II, pontiff of Rome, for the canonization of Henry VI, but it seems that his holiness was for driving a hard bargain, and Henry VII, it is well known, was not over-liberal; so, between both, poor Henry was, unfortunately, never canonized; but, though never actually canonized, he was worshipped as a martyr and saint, miracles were wrought by him, while living, and prayers addressed to him after death.' Cf. Gray, *Ode . . . Eton*, quoted by Dyer (*ibid.* 2.185). Eton also was founded by Henry VI. *Ibid.* 2.181: 'This then is the college, which, in honor of the royal founder, is now called King's, and which was so well endowed by Henry as to stand in little want of future benefactors. . . . It should seem that Henry, from the first, meditated a foundation worthy of a king.'

2 *Ibid.* 2.190-1: 'Nicholas Close, Cloos, or Closse . . . was a native of Drybeach, in Westmoreland, archdeacon of Colchester in 1450. He was chancellor of the University, and Bishop of Carlisle; and in 1452 translated to Litchfield and Coventry. He died in October following. Besides the other literary qualities ascribed to Bishop Close by Bishop Godwin, must be mentioned his skill in architecture; and I particularly notice him as having been mentioned by some as overseer and manager of all Henry's intended works for this college. This honor has been denied him by a modern writer [Dalloway, says Dyer in a note on 2.191]; but it is certainly claimed for him in the old histories of the college, and several circumstances seem to favor the belief. . . . Though certainly he could have no share in the amended plan adopted by Henry VII, if my MS. [Cole's *History*] speaks correctly, Bishop Close must be considered the surveyor and manager of these works till his death, under Henry VI.' *Ibid.* 2.204, in which Dyer quotes Dalloway: 'That particular species of architecture and carving called "fan-work," which from its extreme cost and delicacy had been hitherto confined to cloisters, small chapels, and tombs, was now applied to whole roofs, and with an equal defiance of expense and labor [cf. lines 1 and 3] made to supersede all the excellence of construction and finishing that had been previously attainable. It is a fair conjecture that this new method was either known to few of the master-masons, or was too expensive [cf. line 1] for frequent adoption upon a large scale. Certain it is, that the vaults of Windsor [the chapel of St. George], the choir of Winton, Henry

VII's [Westminster] and King's College chapels, were commenced and completed within twenty years, and that no farther attempts were subsequently made.' *Ibid.* 2.205, in which Dyer quotes an explanation of the structure by Dalloway (*Observations on English Architecture*, sect. 8): 'Allowing this to be the case, the length ceases to be wonderful, excepting on account of the labor and expense' [cf. lines 1 and 3].

3-4 The scholars were clerks of St. Nicholas. Dyer (*op. cit.* 2.209) quotes Cole, who gives the original version of a poetical account of the founding. Cf. Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* 1.509, for these verses as an instance of 'the bad poetry of that age.'

5 Dyer (*op. cit.* 2.202) quotes Dalloway, who considers 'the roof of King's College Chapel as the utmost effort of constructive skill, and the paragon of architectural beauty.'

8-12 Cf. *Journals* 2.274. For a picture of the interior of the chapel see p. 58. Dyer's description includes a remark which Wordsworth used for lines 9 and 10 (*op. cit.* 2.200): 'The admirable arched roof, without the support of any pillars, displaying all the richness of its fine fan-work.'

13-14 *Ibid.*: 'All combine to impress the beholder with emotions which can be better felt than expressed.' Cf. Milton, *Il Penseroso* 164.

3.44

1-2 Dyer, *Hist. Camb.* 1.240-1: 'In Gothic buildings the great variety of windows has a happy effect on the inside perspective, for they have within arches and pillars by which the rays of light are reflected and intermingled, so as to produce something like picturesqueness to the sight.'

3-8 *Ibid.* 2.202: 'The stained glass heightens the effect of the stone-work, and gives it a tint which can never be produced by any wash of limie, with whatever substance it may be combined, when the light passes through diminutive squares of raw white glass.' For 'Portraitures' and 'light' see *Il Penseroso* 149 and 159-60.

9-14 Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journals* (2.169-70 and 181) contain descriptions of cathedral music as it affected the tourists of 1820. Cf. Wordsworth's 'eye' and 'ecstasy' with Milton's 'eyes' and 'exstacies' (*op. cit.* 165-6).

3.45

1-14 Refer to the Introduction, pp. 10-14.

2-3 Cf. *Letters* 1.349.

4-14 Cf. *Prelude* 7.129-31.

3.46

1-14 'Christ, the true Sun, . . . the supreme, everlasting Power of Heaven': so Stillingfleet (*Orig. Brit.*, pp. 4-5) translates Gildas. Cf. also imagery in Burnet, *Sacred Theory of the Earth*.

3 Psalm 19.4: 'In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun.'

4 Homer, *Iliad* 1.482: πορφύρεον.

5-6 Wordsworth, note on 3.46: 'Some say that Monte Rosa takes its name from a belt of rock at its summit—a very unpoetical and scarcely a probable supposition.'

9-11 Cf. *Eccl. Son.* 3.20.12.

12-14 Cf. *Journals* 2.197, 199.

3.47

1-5 Virgil, *Georg.* 3.424: 'Tardosque . . . sinus.'

5-9 See pp. 62-78 for a full discussion of the 'Holy river.' Cf. also *Duddon*, especially 33.9-14.

10 Cf. *Eccl. Son.* 3.1; the reference to the 'eternal City' (line 13) suggests that Wordsworth had in mind the Revelation of St. John.

11-12 Cf. *Convention of Cintra*, *Prose Works* 1.212: 'So the domestic loves and sanctities, . . . wherever they have flowed with a pure and placid stream, do instantly under the same influence [intense passion consecrated by a sudden revelation of justice], put forth their strength as in a flood; and, without being sullied or polluted, pursue—exultingly and with song—a course which leads the contemplative reason to the ocean of eternal love.'

13-14 Cf. *Epitaphs* 3, *ibid.* 2.189, where, among the resources of the deaf dalesman is the

word of Holy Writ
Announcing immortality and joy
To the assembled spirits of the just,
From imperfection and decay secure.

See the Introduction, pp. 9-10, for a discussion of Wordsworth's conception of 'justice.' The last word of *Eccl. Son.* is an echo of Plato's *Republic*, Dante's *Divina Commedia*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, although Wordsworth's immediate text is Hebrews 12.23: 'To the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.'

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